

**Competing “Host” Discourses: Appropriation of Australian Aboriginal Culture in the
Tourism Borderzones**

Kristine R. Mroczek

**A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

**University of Washington
2016**

Reading Committee:

LeiLani Nishime, Chair

Ralina Joseph

Jessica Robles

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Communication

**©Copyright 2016
Kristine R. Mroczek**

University of Washington

Abstract

Competing “Host” Discourses: Appropriation of Australian Aboriginal Culture in the Tourism Borderzones

Kristine R. Mroczek

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
LeiLani Nishime, Associate Professor
Department of Communication

As one of the largest global industries (WTTC, 2012), tourism is a powerful force in shaping intercultural knowledge (Bunten, 2010; Causey, 2003; Diamond, 2011). Through marketing and globally projected websites, government tourism authorities are often the dominant voice influencing outsiders’ perceptions of the people and cultures of a tourism destination. These are particularly powerful narratives when the government uses indigenous peoples as a means to differentiate the nation from other tourism locations. These representations can perpetuate stereotypes of Aboriginal people for outsiders, while simultaneously influencing how those living within the tourism destination see themselves and their place in society (*cf.*, Adams, 2006; Little, 2004). This project examines the Australian tourism industry and how Aboriginal art and culture are used to mediate national (and Aboriginal) identity. In a place that has incorporated Aboriginal fine art into their national identity, it is a particularly intriguing place to examine how Aboriginal art is upheld as part of the national culture, when in many ways Aboriginal people have been removed from the equation.

I interrogate the centers of power by comparing the dominant tourism industry’s

representations of Aboriginal art and culture, to the narratives and semiotic productions of Australian tourism intermediaries on the ground. I am interested in those less studied but equally important moments where local tourism “hosts” not working for the government tourism authority produce their own representations for tourism. I use critical discourse analysis and semiotic approaches to analyze Tourism Australia and their affiliates’ websites, my field notes taken during participant observations and interviews, transcribed recorded interviews, and tourism arts labeling. I approach this project with a critical intercultural communication lens, where culture is not just a neutral concept, nor is it essentialized as part of the nation, but it is “always and already implicated in power relations where differently positioned subjects and social entities (e.g., the nationstate) compete for advantage and control of the process of meaning production” (Halualani, Drzewiecka, & Mendoza, 2003 in Halualani & Nakayama, 2011). I argue that there are competing “host” discourses that are constructing—as well as de- and co-constructing—Aboriginal culture for the Australian tourism industry. The various hosts’ stakes are foregrounded through these (re)presentations constructed for the tourism industry. In addition, I demonstrate how hosts communicating from the “bottom up” are powerful participants in producing self-representations through Aboriginal culture that resist the dominant tourism authority’s narratives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction: Embedding the “Myth”: Australia’s Cultural Tourism Discourses with a Global Reach.....	1
Chapter 2: Creating a Foundation: Branding, Appropriation, and Competing Host Discourses	14
Chapter 3: Commodification at the Cultural Borderzones: Appropriating Aboriginal Culture in Response to Tourism Imaginaries	79
Chapter 4: Bridges and Barriers for Aboriginal Cultural Tourism.....	131
Chapter 5: Markers of “Authenticity” and Cultural Capital: The Semiotic and Discursive Production of “Authenticity” in Aboriginal Tourism Arts.....	188
Chapter 6: Conclusion	256
References	263

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Number	Page Number
2-1 Alice Springs Airport	20
2-2 Alice Springs Welcome.....	20
2.3 Airport Exterior	21
2-4 Qantas air flight attendant	22
2-5 Qantas uniform.....	22
3-1 Go Walkabout with an Aboriginal Guide	97
5-1 Souvenir packaging.....	214
5-2 Dreaming T-shirt.....	216
5-3 Dreaming T-shirt Display	216
5-4 Warlukurlangu.....	222
5-5 Utopia	222
5-6 TOBWABBA	223
5-7 Warlukurlangu Artists	225
5-8 Art Trade * Fair Trade	234
5-9 Icons of “fairness”	234
5-10 Indigenous Cross Cultural Projects.....	238
5-11 Cross Cultural Projects.....	241
5-12 Cross Cultural Info	241
5-13 Happs’ I Series	248
5-14 Fingerprints	248

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I acknowledge the Traditional Owners of the lands in Australia where I conducted my fieldwork. My travels took me through Sydney, Canberra, Alice Springs to Uluru and Kings Canyon, and on to Adelaide and Perth. I pay my respects to past and present elders of those lands.

I experienced many ups and downs during my Ph.D. work; my degree completion was only possible because of many people's support, guidance and love. LeiLani Nishime, my chair, pushed my research to a higher level of critical thinking by always asking me the hard questions. Her thoughtful critiques and feedback pressed me to think of my data in many different ways, and I believe ultimately, to become a better scholar. When I struggled with getting back into my research after taking leave, LeiLani helped me by keeping me accountable with regular check-ins and she was always encouraging as I grappled with re-approaching my project. I am very fortunate to also have Jessica Robles as part of my committee who came on right as the "going was getting tough." Jessica went above and beyond for a committee member, and my aggressive completion schedule would not have been successful without her multiple readings, detailed edits, and input. She has been a tremendous mentor and support through our conversations ranging from the approaches of discourse analysis to publishing in academic journals. Ralina Joseph has been a longtime teacher and mentor for me, and I appreciate that she also joined my committee. Ralina has always had a way of explaining and discussing scholarly literature pertaining to race, gender and sexuality to make it clear and accessible. Her insights and teaching over the years influenced my understanding and approach to identity formations. Sasha Welland, my Graduate School Representative, surpassed all expectations of a GSR. Her knowledge and our conversations around representations of identity, functions and expressions of art, and even

Australia, provided me with so many interesting perspectives to incorporate and explore. I have always looked forward to our conversations, as I know I will leave with some new way of contemplating my work.

In the long period of time that a Ph.D. can take, there are also people who come and go. Crispin Thurlow, my former chair, taught me so much about critical tourism studies and critical discourse analysis. This knowledge formed the foundation for my current scholarship. As my friend and mentor, I have valued our time teaching and traveling together, and being welcomed into his family (both near and far). Miriam Kahn, a former committee member, and longtime teacher, mentor and friend, taught me about the differences between critical tourism scholarship in communication and anthropology, and the importance of giving back to the community of research. I always appreciated that all of our meetings included laughter, and am grateful that the laughter continues through our non-academic social communication. Thank you to Richard White in Sydney who welcomed me in Australia with friendship and interest in my project. He made Sydney feel like my home base between my travels with a familiar face and always-good food involved. In Seattle, Seth Deister and Katie Przybus were excellent research assistants.

I also acknowledge that this research would not have been possible without additional financial funding. Thank you to the Peter Clarke & Susan Evans Graduate Research Fund, the Communication Graduate Student Research Fund, the Janice and William Ames Endowment and the Levy Loan Fund for their generous support.

On a more personal level, I have deep gratitude for my dear friends and family who were there with me and for me through this process. Lisa Coutu, a mentor and friend (also former committee member), taught me so much professionally and personally in this process. Through Lisa, I see the kind of teacher and colleague I want to be, and have learned so much about my

own teaching style, strengths, and personality through her mentorship. Beyond work, Lisa Coutu and Dan Nichol helped keep me sane by sharing good food, wine, a little bit of exercise and a lot of laughter. Katherine Bell has been a dear friend and my grounded “slow and steady” reminder. She never left her role as my last-standing cohort member, and our discussions to help me clarify my arguments and chapters were invaluable in getting me through this project. Liz Bieri played the role of the virtual cheerleader, giving me the “tough” talks when needed. Ciara Mielke and Taylor Chaparro were always up for food and excursions when I needed family time. Elodie Fichet became my adopted cohort member, who reminds me that there is fun to be had beyond the dissertation. And to my pre-college “family”—Cindy and Brendon Wright, Paul and Denise Merklings, and Michelle and Kenton Wilmot—your social escapes helped me to steady on!

I share this dissertation with my mom and my dad. I am so thankful my mom walked beside me during this process, and I know in my heart that my dad was here in spirit. They always encouraged me that I could do whatever I set my mind to (even though they didn’t always agree on some of those decisions!). I also acknowledge with love both sets of my grandparents. Grandma Teen said she would come with me to Australia one-way or another, and I like to believe we were admiring the view together when she passed away at home during my fieldwork.

Most importantly, thank you to Andy, my enduring partner through this long journey. This dissertation is as much his as it is mine. Through graduate school, he saw me at my highest and at my lowest, and stood by my side through stress, tears and a few celebrations too. When life happened outside of graduate school, he was my island that seemed calm despite my sadness and fear. I am so fortunate to love and be loved by this amazing man. I look forward to our next chapter together.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Embedding the “Myth”: Australia’s Cultural Tourism Discourses with a Global Reach

In 2010, popular U.S. talk show host and media icon Oprah Winfrey announced at a show during her final season that she would be taking the entire audience to Australia.¹ Over 300 of her viewers (or as Oprah called them her “Ultimate viewers”) and 198 Harpo staffers² were flown to Australia, with a cost of \$3 million dollars to Tourism Australia, the government tourism authority, and Australian taxpayers (Mandi & Bierly, 2010).

During this trip, Oprah planned extravagant gatherings for all of her guests in Sydney, Melbourne and the Great Barrier Reef. Oprah’s group’s itinerary included Uluru, where Malarndirri McCarthy, a government minister and leader of the Yanyuwa people, was referenced as Oprah’s “guide to Aboriginal culture” (Terry, 2011). During Oprah’s time at Uluru, she began with a helicopter tour over Uluru, where she asked McCarthy “Why is this considered to be one of the great sacred grounds of the world?” (Terry, 2011). McCarthy responded that it was probably due to the mere size of Uluru in the middle of nowhere (Terry, 2011). Meanwhile, twelve of Oprah’s viewers arrived at Uluru to “tour[] the heart of Australia’s Aboriginal past,” with a surprise of Oprah joining the tour (Terry, 2011). Their day included meeting four Anangu elders, who consider this area home, and with the assistance of a translator, were guided around portions of Uluru’s base. As they walked down the path towards Uluru, Oprah stated that it felt like they were walking into a cathedral. They arrived at a water hole with a platform built along one side of it, Oprah asked, “what is the name of this spot, it feels very sacred,[]... like the earth made this cathedral” (Terry, 2011). The translator replied Mutitjula, and stated that the “ladies

¹ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be aware that this document may contain images or names of people who have since passed away.

² Oprah Winfrey owns Harpo Studios (now Harpo Productions). Harpo Studios produced *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, and the Harpo Productions is now the umbrella company over the Oprah Winfrey Network (OWN) and *O, the Oprah Magazine*. Oprah has referred to “Harpo staffers” as those working for Harpo.

agree with you, with that feeling.” After group photos in front of Mutitjula, the translator announced that one of the Anangu guides, Judy, brought a present for Oprah. Judy presented Oprah with handmade gifts of a beaded necklace and bracelets. As the video showed Oprah thanking Judy, Oprah’s voice-over stated that “This is like a holy Jesus experience, it really is,” and then the scene returns to Oprah pointing to the waterhole and saying, “This is a little piece of heaven.”

Shortly after, Oprah’s voiceover explains that they have been given a “rare” invitation: “a group of Anangu women allowed us inside a special ceremony, *few* have ever witnessed” (Terry, 2011). The viewers are shown getting off of the bus. The area is dark, except for a standing camera light we can see on the other side of several Anangu women sitting on the red dirt ground. Behind the women sitting on the ground, there is green brush and trees. This is clearly taking place outside, and to the side of the women sitting on the ground, Oprah’s viewers can be seen sitting in chairs, creating an audience in the forefront of the red dirt clearing. This juxtaposition of the Aboriginal women on the ground and the non-Aboriginal women in the chairs emphasizes a traditional or tribal Aboriginal versus the contemporary lifestyles of Oprah’s viewers. As the dancing and music begins, the audience is not really seen. The view of the camera is from above and to the side of the Anangu women sitting on the ground almost like a bird’s eye view. Some of the women on the ground are singing and playing rhythm sticks with burned designs. Two women dancers are facing the musicians, barefooted, topless and wearing black skirts. Their chests are painted with circular line designs. Oprah’s voice over states that this dance is called the *Inma* which “tells the story of their ancestral heritage” (Terry, 2011). The voice over and video then changes to one of the viewers, Sandra from Jordan, Utah, who states

“To be in that moment with those group of women, and seeing that woman’s ceremony was just a treasure... such a gift. It’s going to be with me forever” (Terry, 2011).

Sheree from Chicago, Illinois also commented:

“Where you feel the life force connection of the people here. Women have been lifted up. It’s a soul growth experience what has happened here” (Terry, 2011).

The scene wraps up with goodbyes and thanks to the Anangu women.

I use this story of Oprah and her fellow travelers as the foundation that highlights the global reach of dominant tourism representations and the power of authorship and authority. In this project, I argue that there are competing host discourses that are constructing—as well as de- and co-constructing—Aboriginal³ culture for the Australian tourism industry. Each construction of the (re)presentations foreground the various hosts’ stakes at hand. In addition, I demonstrate how hosts communicating from the “bottom up” are powerful participants in producing self-representations through Aboriginal culture that resist the dominant tourism authority’s narratives. I approach this project with a critical intercultural communication lens, where culture is not just a neutral concept, nor is it essentialized as part of the nation, but it is “always and already implicated in power relations where differently positioned subjects and social entities (e.g., the nationstate) compete for advantage and control of the process of meaning production” (Halualani, Drzewiecka, & Mendoza, 2003 in Halualani & Nakayama, 2011). Martin and Nakayama (2011) state that “culture is not a benignly socially constructed variable, but a site of struggle where various communication meanings are contested within social hierarchies—the ultimate goal is to examine systems of oppression and work for system change” (p. 61). Throughout this dissertation project I consider how Australia’s significant tourism industry, the history of the nation, and its people with unequal socio-cultural standing contribute to the hosts’ positions in producing discourses for the tourism environment.

³ Throughout this dissertation I use the word “Aboriginal” to reference Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. I also use the standard “people” rather than “peoples,” but I do acknowledge that Australian Aboriginal people are not homogenous, and made up of many different language group communities.

This Oprah's visit to Australia was only one portion of her four episodes covering the group's trip, and is significant for two reasons. First, it provides an example of the types of discourses and representations that Tourism Australia is producing of Australian Aboriginal people for a global audience; and second it shows that Tourism Australia is the dominant tourism narrative for Australia with a large budget and a far reach. It is clear that "Aboriginality has become an important component in the marketing of Australia as a tourist destination" (Healy, 2008, p. 177; see also Tonnaer, 2008). The producers of these Oprah scenes, which we can imagine is a collaboration between Tourism Australia and Harpo Studios, depicts Aboriginality as it is related to the land, to spirituality and to sacred ceremonies. Urry and Larsen (2011) describe "imaginative geographies" which are "materialized and mobilised in and through" various media (pg. 116). This creates "markers" of tourism where the tourist gaze and media gaze overlap, and tourists go in search of these places they have seen in movies or television (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 116). Tourism Australia has mobilized imaginaries of Aboriginal Australia through the massive production of *The Oprah Winfrey Show*.

Oprah's show is said to have an estimated audience of "40 million viewers in America and aired in roughly 145 countries" (Mandi & Bierly, 2010). According to an Oprah show representative, Tourism Australia approached *The Oprah Winfrey* show about this travel promotion about a year before the announcement (Mandi & Bierly, 2010). Tourism officials have dubbed this tourism media campaign as "Project O," and former tourism minister John Brown claimed that they "couldn't possibly quantify the success that [they]'re gonna get from this" (Mandi & Bierly, 2010). Previous campaigns have included Paul Hogan, and most recently prior to Oprah, the \$180 million "Where the bloody hell are you?" campaign which was found offensive in several countries due to the word "bloody." With Oprah's large fan base, the show

gave Australia an opportunity to have a marketing strategy packaged in the entertainment show that would reach a wide audience.

When representations to promote tourism are highlighted in a popular culture show, they are naturalized as the experience Oprah and her guests have, and give the impression that any one of us can experience the same. Barthes (1972) states the essential point of myth: “it transforms history into nature” (p. 129). The placement of Aboriginal people and the stories of their culture are discussed matter-of-factly, and when placed within this Oprah segment, the representations are given by an authoritative voice (or voices). When placed in the form of entertainment in this Oprah show, or as leisure in the tourism industry, the producer of representations explicitly, and seemingly innocently, tells a “story” for us to consume. According to Barthes (1972), “what causes mythical speech to be uttered is perfectly explicit, but it is immediately frozen into something natural; it is not read as a motive, but as a reason” (p. 129). The tourism industry’s production of Aboriginal culture as a marker for Australian tourism is justified and accepted as truth.

As a brief example of how tourism imaginaries become naturalized through the tourism industry narratives, I highlight two areas here taken from this Oprah episode. First, when we consider this as a production of Tourism Australia, we also must consider the use of Malarndirri McCarthy as Oprah’s guide. While she is an Aboriginal leader, the Yanyuwa people are from Barrooloola, Northern Territory, which is over 1,000 miles from Uluru, where this scene was located. When the Anangu people are one of the groups who consider Uluru home, what kind of representation does this produce when another Aboriginal group’s speaker comes in to do the hosting? This blending of Aboriginal groups to “present Aboriginal” for Oprah and global television produces one Aboriginal “Other” to the non-Aboriginal visitors and dismisses

geographic and cultural differences between Aboriginal people and their culture. In other words, it homogenizes all Aboriginal people as one and the same. Due to the fact that McCarthy is also a government minister, we can also assume that there is some sort of management of the types of messages that will be communicated to Oprah, and the government minister is authorized to manage what will be shared for such a large production.

A second example is the *Inma* ceremony for women, and the “rare invitation” that *few* have ever witnessed. Yet, we see the bus of twelve women unloading at the site, camera lights, and knowing that this is aired to over 40 million viewers in the U.S. alone. It is clearly a production, which treats Uluru and the Aboriginal people’s spiritual ceremony as a “rare sighting” that has been exposed on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. This is reminiscent of colonial narratives where the “discovery” of people or “natives” was written in voyagers’ journals on the ships to be reported back to the “civilized” nations (White, 2005). This type of representation gives potential tourists the impression that experiencing “authentic” ceremonies is a part of the tourism experience rather than a personal or cultural practice. While purchased encounters may be found, the tourism industry’s presentation of inclusion and going “behind the scenes” offers meeting and participating in Aboriginal culture as part of the commodity. These representations of Aboriginal culture are especially significant when we consider that the dominant narrative here is coming from Tourism Australia and Oprah’s producers. As you will see in chapter three, this message of accessibility is not uncommon.

These scenes in *Oprah* have provided a glimpse of the complexities to tourism hosts’ discourses, the need to fulfill tourists’ expectations, and the power that is inherent in producing and circulating representations. I would also like to point out the hidden complications of representations as it pertains to colonization, the segregation of Aboriginal people and the

resulting loss of culture by many Aboriginal groups. Throughout this dissertation, I weave in points of history, contradictions, and notions of Australian identity that underlie the presentation of Aboriginal culture for tourism.

In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the significance of representation and authorship as it pertains to my larger project. I conclude with a brief outline of my remaining chapters.

Significance of Tourism Representations

As one of the largest global industries (WTTC, 2012),⁴ tourism is a powerful force in shaping intercultural knowledge (Bunten, 2010; Causey, 2003; Diamond, 2011). Because of their ability to market broadly and direct people to an “official” website, government agencies are often the dominant voice influencing outsiders’ perceptions of the people and cultures of a tourism destination. The government can present marginalized people and their cultural objects as a commodity to sell a place for tourism. Commonly, these representations depict indigenous cultures as frozen in time, savage or lacking modern abilities (Desmond, 1999). Scholars recognize these depictions as powerful narratives that can perpetuate stereotypes for outsiders, while simultaneously influencing how those living within the tourism destination see themselves and their place in society (*cf.*, Adams, 2006; Little, 2004). I am interested in those less studied

⁴The World Travel & Tourism Council reports that the Travel & Tourism industry itself generates almost US\$2 Trillion in direct GDP, and employs more than 98 million people worldwide (2012, p. 14). When also including supply, investment and consumer spending, tourism supports almost 255 million jobs and generates 9% of global GDP in 2011 (*ibid.*).

but equally important moments where local tourism “hosts”⁵ not working for the government tourism authority produce their own representations for tourism.

A recent evolving scholarly approach demonstrates how local people participate or interject in their self-representations by utilizing cultural objects within tourism in dynamic ways, such as emphasizing particular aspects of their cultural or national identities (Adams, 2006; Little, 2004). However, none of this research has examined the ways Aboriginal culture is used to mediate identity within Australia, or whether differences in cultural identity and position in society influence local people’s narratives of their representations for tourism. One aspect of Aboriginal culture is the focus on acrylic paintings which has become a global metonym for Australia, and images of the “dot painting” commonly appear as a cultural marker of Australia. Due to its widely recognized status, travelers go to Australia to purchase this art (Myers, 2002), and the Australian tourism industry offers many opportunities for tourists to learn more about Aboriginal art and the people who produce it. I argue that cultural tourism offers a space for people working outside of the government tourism authority to interject alternative representations of identity and even resist dominant narratives. I interrogate the centers of power and hegemony by examining those spaces where “hosts” working outside of the government authority, specifically marginalized hosts, are able to utilize cultural objects and practices to participate in representing, mediating and complicating notions of their own identity within tourism.

⁵ The term “hosts” in this research refers to those working in the tourism industry, leading tours, interacting with tourists, and at times producing marketing materials that are distributed to a limited area. This also includes those working for the government tourism agency. Many critical scholars, including myself, believe this term is problematic as it frames local people in an unequal role to the visitors (i.e. as workers who are there just to serve the tourists). For these reasons, I place the word “host/s” in quotation marks to notate this complicated label, but I will not be using quotation marks from here forward.

Australia's government, its tourism industry and the art world circulate Aboriginal culture and art as a unique aspect of Australia, and as early as the 1970s Aboriginal acrylic paintings became a "sign of an emerging Australian national identity" (Myers, 2002, p. 9). Yet, the people who produce it have a history of oppression, inequality and racism against them. Therefore, each host in this study may have different interests at stake and varying identity politics to negotiate. The ways that culture is incorporated and discussed within tourism can help us better understand the ways that cultural objects may be used as a marker to communicate characteristics of people (Thomas, 1989), regional and national identities (Rosi, 1991), and difference. In my project I investigate the ways people from different cultural and societal backgrounds negotiate identity through cultural objects, while simultaneously serving a particular interest in the tourism industry.

As a case study, I focus on Australia's tourism industry with its globally circulated Aboriginal cultural practices and art as cultural markers of Australia. I ask: In what ways do tourism hosts utilize culture to mediate their own identity narratives within tourism spaces? And in what ways do those working outside of the dominant tourism authority perpetuate the government's globally distributed narratives or potentially resist these representations overtly or covertly? I utilize critical discourse analysis, semiotics and qualitative methods, including participant observation and interviews, to compare the narratives about Aboriginal culture (re)producing Australian identity between three Australian tourism hosts: Australia's government tourism authority; Aboriginal Australian guides; and non-Aboriginal guides. For the government tourism authority narrative, I compare and analyze the fifteen English versions of Australia's official tourism website to understand the dominant narrative produced for a global audience. I use the Australian government's dominant tourism narrative to compare

and contrast whether tourism hosts perpetuate and reproduce the same types of representations for tourists, or whether they create alternative identity narratives as a form of resistance. Making this comparison enables me to identify what kinds of identity narratives are important for tourism hosts to share with a tourism audience.

For the purposes of this study, I focus on all forms of Aboriginal culture including performance, traditional practices and the contemporary “dot” painting, carvings and weaving. This follows Zeppel’s (1999) definition of Aboriginality as it pertains to tourists’ interests as “Aboriginal people; Aboriginal Spirituality or the Dreaming; Aboriginal Bushcraft skills; Aboriginal Cultural Practices; and Aboriginal Artefacts” (p. 124). In expanding the definition of cultural and art forms, I include a range of tours that would be accessible for the average tourist. The majority of tours that only focused on contemporary “dot” paintings were extremely expensive, and the average tourist would not be able to afford the cost of these exclusive tours which include private helicopters and planes to get them to the remote areas where the Aboriginal artists live. By looking at tours that focus on Aboriginal culture more generally, I examine the representations that are exhibited for the majority of tourists to Australia. In addition, I aim to examine not only the global and local influences on identity narratives, but the ways art can mediate narratives of in-grouping and out-grouping, and illustrate how agency influences representations.

Background

My interest in negotiating identity through cultural practices and objects stems from my own background of working in the tourism industry in Hawai’i, where I worked in public relations and event planning for six years at a large resort. During that time I was intrigued by

the position of Hawaiian Cultural Advisor, which was a position that existed in a few hotels, and was held by a Hawaiian person who was responsible for acting as a liaison between the Hawaiian people, the hotel and the tourists. In my master's research, I examined the ways Hawaiian cultural advisors acted as hosts and I asked what was important for them to communicate to tourists about their culture and people. I argued that cultural advisors used objects and art as a means to tell tourists stories about Hawaiian history and culture. In this way, objects were used to mediate the missions of the Hawaiian renaissance within tourism for a tourist audience, which emphasized the ways Hawaiian people want to maintain and reclaim their language and culture. In this current project my focus turns to another cultural object—Australian Aboriginal art—and the ways that Aboriginal people and their material culture fit into the larger, globally circulated, Australian national narrative. Studying Australian Aboriginal culture enables me to analyze whether cultural objects can be instruments for marginalized people to play a role in self-representation in tourism.

Overview of Chapters

In Chapter 2 I provide the theoretical foundation for this project as it relates to the production and circulation of tourism imaginaries, the contradictory roles of “hosts,” and the mediation of identity through culture and narrative. I demonstrate that tourism imaginaries are an important part of the dialectical production of Aboriginality in Australia's tourism industry. I argue that the tourism industry appropriates the Aboriginal spiritual beliefs and practices as part of this imaginary, even when it is not presented as experienced through Aboriginal people. These spiritual beliefs, called the “Dreamtime” in tourism, are represented through Aboriginal

performance and art; and provide a basis for analyzing how culture is used to negotiate and produce identity. In this chapter, I also outline my research design and analytical framework.

I use Australia's government tourism authority websites as a basis for showing the ways hosts' discourses "compete" to advocate for their own stakes in Chapter 3. I demonstrate how Tourism Australia and its affiliates commodify the "Dreamtime" and invite tourists to experience and practice this spirituality, and see the land through "Aboriginal eyes." I argue that Aboriginal people are marked as "having culture" that is accessible for tourists, where the unmarked non-Aboriginal people are known for their personalities and friendliness. The local guides in Australia counter these dominant tourism representations with narratives that correct the "Dreamtime" and resist the inappropriate appropriation of Aboriginal culture within tourism.

In Chapter 4, I focus on the tourist *borderzone* (Bruner, 2005) and spaces of encounter between and among the multiple tiers of those acting as "hosts." I demonstrate that the intercultural spaces between local guides, government authorities and other tourism distribution intermediaries are based on complicated relationships of unequal power. I use the Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC) key principles to organize my analysis, and they are: Connection to Country; Welcome to Country; and Corroboree. I argue that hierarchies and gatekeepers create "bridges" and "barriers" for Aboriginal people to participate in tourism. The relationships and encounters are influential to produce newly formed Aboriginal cultural tourism "products." The socio-cultural position of those who want to play a role in tourism is influential in the types of cultural tourism that is produced.

I continue my discussion on how hosts' discourses compete in the production of Aboriginality through conceptions of "authenticity." The Aboriginal art market is full of differing perceptions on how to value "high art," and how it pertains to traditional practices and

processes versus contemporary ones. The value and questions of “authenticity” are also tied to the practices of art sellers, artists’ representatives, and artists themselves with emphasis on authorship and fair compensation. In Chapter 5 I argue that these types of measurements of “authenticity” of fine arts transfer to the evaluation of tourist arts, which are often mass-produced and created outside of Australia. I analyze semiotic and discursive productions of the “Other,” labor and uniqueness through the labeling of souvenirs. I argue that the producers of souvenirs appropriate processes that respond to the anxieties that surround questions of “authenticity” in fine arts. I examine notions of authority through the production of “authenticity,” and analyze how both producers and consumers acquire cultural capital through products that semiotically and discursively focus on ethical treatment and legitimacy.

I have three primary arguments running across my chapters: the various hosts (re)produce discourses that serve their own interests and create competing host narratives of access, appropriation and authenticity; local hosts perform to the tourism imaginaries by commodifying their own culture, while they simultaneously use that same culture to resist further appropriation and disrespect; and, the act or performance of authority is related to the perception of authenticity.

Chapter 2 Creating a Foundation: Branding, Appropriation, and Competing Host Discourses

*'Tell us what you are really like', say the white institutions,
'Dance for us once more and sing your songs. We will say to the world that this too is our
Australia heritage: this is the nation which can stand proud amongst others because it
has a timeless history in the Aboriginal peoples'*
(Benterrak, Muecke, & Roe, 1984, p. 126).

Tourism hosts contribute to the tourist imaginary in many ways, which include producing marketing materials and (intentionally or unintentionally) creating a tourist experience that is either congruent with or has discrepancies from those original imaginaries (cf. Bruner, 2011). In addition, the producers of tourism messages and those who receive them go far beyond the dichotomy of “insider” and “outsider” and “‘locals’ and the ‘visitors’ are by no means simple or solidary groups, but are themselves conglomerates of stakeholders” (Salazar & Graburn, 2014, p. 15). Those who are considered “local” include a broad range of host entities, each with their own agendas and interests to uphold. The hosts may include the government tourism authority (i.e. Tourism Australia), its partners and affiliates, tour guides, owners of businesses (both touristic and not), employees, and residents. It is much more complicated when we consider “national and international politics, . . . and the remnants of local traditional rulers and religious officials” (Salazar & Graburn, 2014, p. 15). Therefore, when we consider how hosts represent identity, there will understandably be competing narratives, ideals, politics and motives regarding what gets communicated to outsiders (i.e. tourists, travel agents, other governments, the press, etc.), and what (or who) becomes commodified for the cause.

To provide background and a foundation for the complex and often contradicting elements of mediating identity through Aboriginal culture, this chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I introduce Australia’s cultural tourism, its “brand,” and the cultural

appropriation of the Dreamtime. This section includes a discussion of the “Aboriginalization” of Australia’s cultural tourism industry. In addition, I provide a brief history of how Aboriginal people and culture have been impacted by Australian’s history and policy, and how their culture has played a role in Australia’s tourism. I examine how scholars from a variety of disciplines have researched this area. The second section focuses on the relevant literature for my project, and includes: tourism imaginaries; roles of tourism “hosts”; art objects and identity politics; and, identity narratives. I conclude this chapter with my research design and analytical framework, which also includes a statement of my position in this research.

Australia’s Cultural Tourism: Branding, Cultural Appropriation & History

In this section, I give an overview of how Australia’s cultural tourism industry takes up Aboriginal culture for both the branding and theming of Australia’s tourism. I explain cultural tourism and demonstrate how tourism is an industry that relies on semiotic and discursive resources to present an identity and differentiate it from other places. My focus is on Australian Aboriginal culture, and I argue that Australia’s tourism industry essentializes Aboriginal identity and produces an “Aboriginalization” of its tourism spaces.

I follow with exhibiting how the Aboriginal “Dreamtime” is appropriated for and within the tourism industry. Before I explain specifically how the Dreaming is appropriated, I offer an overview of how culture and appropriation have been conceptualized, and how they are both problematic terms.

I conclude this Australia’s Cultural Tourism section with a discussion of the history of Australia’s Aboriginal tourism, and how it has been researched academically.

Tourism Australia’s Cultural Tourism “Brand” & the “Aboriginalization” of Spaces

The role of culture in [the tourism] process is multi-faceted: culture is simultaneously a resource, a product, an experience and an outcome (Craik, 1997, p. 113).

When we look at ideas about national identity, we need to ask, not whether they are true or false, but what their function is, whose creation they are, and whose interests they serve (White, 1991, p. viii)

Cultural tourism has been growing in the tourism industry (cf. Tonnaer, 2008), and culture is not just the focus of tourists’ travels, but a resource from which the tourism industry draws to highlight itself as different (Craik, 1997, p. 113). It is intimately tied to the notion of national identity, where the representations are carefully planned and strategically produced to serve the interests of the dominant society (White, 1991). It is also a product that is “for sale,” which includes the non-material such as the experience tourists will have with the “Other,” as much as it is also the material products that stage tourism spaces, or the tourist arts for sale. I have mentioned elsewhere the need for a tourism destination to mark itself as different from other locations, and culture and cultural identities are upheld in these “culture industries of otherness” (Favero, 2007). The elusiveness of the definition of culture emphasizes how tourism is an industry produced and circulated through the signs of a place.

Franklin (2003b) explains that “tourism was conducted in precisely constructed and decoded semiotic fields” where tourists are sign collectors who are seeking out the references or essences of a place (p. 8). With the advancement of visual technologies, these signs of place are (re)produced, altered and distributed on a global scale, and this process “detached the signs from the things they referenced and these became objects of pleasurability in their own right” (Franklin, 2003b, p. 9). These signs of the “essence” of a place are disconnected from their

original contexts and meanings, and placed in new situations to produce new significance in tourism spaces. The signs are significant in contributing to the brand identity.

In general, branding “is the orchestrated attempt to communicate [a] brand-linked relevance and meaning to key audiences, and nation branding might be seen as an attempt to link relevance and meaning to a nation state” (Pomeroy & White, 2011, p. 167). We can think of the national brand as foregrounding an “imagined community” where “members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). When it comes to selling that “image,” Australia was the first country in the world to think of their country as a brand, which according to Graeme Turner, is problematic as it “turns a nation into a commodity, but it is not a commodity it’s a social community” (Turner in Thornton et al., 2002). According to the film *Selling Australia*, Australians “were being asked to buy the image of [themselves] that was being sold overseas,” which ultimately was a type of “nice campaign” that encouraged local people to smile and be friendly to the visitors (Thornton et al., 2002). Branding a nation is different from promoting tourism, yet the tourism imagery “helps to shape the nation’s brand” and “add[s] to the values inherent in the nation brand” (Pomeroy & White, 2011, p. 167).

In the tourism industry, destinations brand themselves based on their unique cultural qualities, with the diverse interests of travelers in mind. As tourism has transitioned to promoting “*experiences* rather than merely ‘products’” (Tourism Australia, 2008, p. 16, emphasis my own), the destination’s culture and cultural identity is not dismissed; rather, it is woven into those experiences. For example, Australia’s *Experience Seeker* campaign lists seven types of experiences: Aboriginal Australia; Nature in Australia; Outback Australia; Aussie Coastal Lifestyle; Food and Wine; Australian Major Cities; and, Australian Journeys (Tourism Australia,

2008, p. 16). For the purposes of this project, I focus on Aboriginal Australia, but this list of experiences illustrates how “experiences” in tourism are not really separate from what we might call Australian culture.

Australia appropriates Australian Aboriginal people and culture as part of their unique national and touristic identity. Blundell (1994) explains that nations such as Australia, the United States and Canada have used the cultural artifacts of original inhabitants to differentiate themselves from other countries, and such objects become “national symbols” (p. 252; and cf. Errington, 2010). This is visible across Australia’s tourism websites, which emphasize what it has to sell as a tourism destination, including Aboriginal culture, experiences, spirituality and art forms that may not exist in other geographic locations. In cultural tourism, commodification of indigenous people, their traditions and culture is especially prominent (cf. Adams, 2006; Bruner, 2005; Bunten, 2008; Lippard, 1997). Commonly, these representations depict indigenous cultures as frozen in time, savage, or lacking modern abilities (Desmond, 1999). This marketing and incorporation of culture in the tourism industry is complex, where multiple people and businesses have different stakes in the commodification of culture.

The concept of “Imagineering,” originally developed by the Walt Disney Company, references the creative processes and production of *theming* spaces down to the minute detail. For example, in Disneyland amusement parts, every element matches the designated theme from larger plans like attractions and hotels down to “the tiniest elements like light fixtures, restaurant menus, wallpaper and trashcans...” (Imagineers & Walt Disney Company, 1996, p. 11). The idea behind Disney’s imagineering is to create that ultimate “fantasy” for the visitors, where every part of the experience matches the tourism imaginary.

Themed spaces are also common in other tourism destinations that are not amusement parks, and may include staging, murals, uniforms and memorabilia for tourists to purchase. For example, many of us are able to recognize the Hawaiian floral prints and leis, as they have become tropes of Hawai'i. In Hawai'i, or even in restaurants elsewhere with a Hawaiian theme, we can see these symbols on menus, wall hangings, staff uniforms and t-shirts to purchase. This production of place relates to how Salazar (2010a) discusses Walt Disney's *imagineering*, where the construction of a fantasy environment can engage the senses and blend with reality. This is the *semiotic landscape* where public spaces are visibly inscribed by "deliberate human intervention and meaning making" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010a, p. 2) through the "interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource..." (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010a, p. 1). The tourism industry is a place where that "deliberate" communication takes place through combining symbols, representations, and places to produce and uphold the theme of the imaginary. Of course, this includes the souvenirs for tourists to take home, as their memorabilia will remind them of these semiotic landscapes.

The Aboriginal focus is clear across Tourism Australia's websites, and the theme carries on in the physical spaces. Once you have arrived in Australia, Aboriginal culture and motifs are seen across the tourism locations, in the services and on objects. Myers (2002) describes Alice Springs in July and August of 1988 as already saturated with Aboriginal images on "buses, motels, and shop signs," with Aboriginal themed retail objects everywhere, including Kmart (p. 10)! In other words, there is an "*Aboriginalization*" that is prominent in the semiotic landscape of Australia, which "gives the impression that Aboriginal culture is a quintessential representation or icon of local and national life with the corollary, given its suggested

primordially, that it has always been thus” (Franklin, 2010, p. 196). There is an abundance of items for purchase with Aboriginal designs on them, and “Boomerangs line souvenir shops in their thousands, inviting visitors to Australia to take this quirky piece of the nation home with them as a symbol of both the country they visited and its original inhabitants—whom they may or may not have met” (Errington, 2010, p. 75). Aboriginal culture is clearly part of the Australian tourism brand (cf. Waitt, 1999), and the Aboriginal art and motifs are valuable symbols for representing Australia and the visitors’ experience, whether or not Aboriginal people are part of the interaction.

The Aboriginal “Brand” Illustrated through a “Sense of Place.”

The tourism destinations are produced to provide a “sense of place” for the traveler (cf. Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010b; Kahn, 2011; Salazar, 2012). The tourism industry builds tourism spaces to provide highlights for the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990), which fulfills the tourist imaginary. To exemplify the Aboriginal “brand” through the genre of tourism spaces, I focus on the airport experience, primarily in Alice Springs. The form of the genre can be seen in the airport theme of Alice Springs, where symbols on banners by the landing strip and in the airport interiors mimic the Aboriginal dot paintings (see Figures 2-1, 2-2 and 2-3). Figure 2-2 shows the



Figure 2- 1 Alice Springs Airport



Figure 2 - 2 Alice Springs Welcome



Figure 2- 3 Airport exterior

banner that welcomes travelers to the Alice Spring’s airport as they depart their plane and head into the airport. Dots and circular designs cross the sign, along with a black arm and hand reaching towards the center of the banner. The design at the entrance begins the theming of the airport space, and the depiction of the black arm may be seen as a virtual greeting to the Northern Territory by the Aboriginal people themselves. In Figure 2-1, a mosaic on the airport floor is a reproduction of an Aboriginal style painting, and the original that the design was taken from is also hanging on the airport wall. After visitors pass through the airport towards the parking and buses, the front of the airport is designed with metal awnings with the same Aboriginal motifs cut out to allow light through, and to produce a reflected design on the walkway below (see Figure 2-3). These types of depictions of local culture are common across international airport spaces, and these Australian Aboriginal designs provide a content that is unique to this country’s branded identity.

The form and content of these designs are also carried through in other areas of the airport experience. For example, uniforms or particular styles of dress mark the environment while simultaneously linking the employees as part of the service industry. In Figures 2-4 and 2-5, we can see how signs of Aboriginality are portrayed in the uniforms of Qantas airlines flight attendants, both in the airplane (Fig. 2-4) and in the airport (Fig. 2-5). The print and design (or the content) depicted in these uniforms signify Aboriginal art, with the recognizable dot patterns, boomerang motifs and circular patterns. The form, the uniforms, becomes a moving symbol of Aboriginality, which themes the more neutral spaces of the interior of the airplane or the ubiquitous airport scenes. Figure 2-4 was photographed on a flight from Sydney to Alice Springs, or the Red Center, and Figure 2-5 was taken in Perth in Western Australia. The presence of Aboriginal patterns in Qantas' uniforms functions as a connection between the corporate airlines to the Aboriginal culture, so that no matter where Qantas flies, nationally or internationally, the Aboriginal culture is represented as part of the space. Even in these brief examples of the genre of tourism spaces, it is clear that the tourism industry emphasizes and appropriates the Aboriginal symbols as part of an Australian trope.



Figure 2 - 4 Qantas air flight attendant



Figure 2- 5 Qantas uniform

Culture, Appropriation and the “Dreamtime”

Now that I have described the branding of the tourism industry in Australia and the ways it “Aboriginalizes” tourism spaces, I now turn to demonstrate how Aboriginal spiritual beliefs are also appropriated for the tourism industry. Before I go into detail about the appropriation of the “Dreamtime,” it is important to provide an explanation of how culture and appropriation are defined, as they are both problematic and difficult terms to narrow down.

Culture and Its Complexities.

Throughout this dissertation, I use the phrase “Aboriginal *art* and *culture*.” Art is absolutely considered as part of culture, but I reference them separately to demonstrate that both Aboriginal art and Aboriginal culture are taken up by the tourism industry in different ways. For example, the “Aboriginalization” of tourism spaces relies on visual motifs and designs, where in other places, the tourism industry invites tourists to participate in the personal and spiritual Aboriginal traditions. In this section, I explain how “culture” in general has been conceptualized and how it relates to the tourism industry.

It is difficult to separate the concept of “culture” from a discussion of “cultural identity,” as both are significant in understanding what is at stake in the tourism industry. Favero (2007) explains tourism is based on the “culture industries of otherness.”

Rather than a matter of dialogue, the culture industries of otherness sell delicate issues through a form (i.e. the touristic one where visual pleasure and enjoyment take the centre-stage) that hides from the view all the power and political dimensions and practices that permit the production of these events (Favero, 2007, p. 77).

In other words, it is an industry that is built on highlighting differences in cultural identity, producing those differences in highly visual ways, and selling that culture for tourism

consumption. Therefore, the ways that cultural identity is produced, represented and communicated is critical to understanding the discourses that are being produced for tourists (and I would add, host cultures).

Scholars of intercultural communication, sociology, anthropology and cultural studies have all been influential in the theorizing of how to make sense of culture. “Culture” is a vexed term in that there are as many definitions as there are debates. For example, Du Gay (1997) explains that in one sense, culture is “an autonomous realm of existence dedicated to the pursuit of particular values—‘art,’ ‘beauty,’ ‘authenticity’ and ‘truth’” (p. 1). However, “culture” is also a growing concept in corporate organizations, referring to the ways people think, feel and act, which contributes to the organizations’ identity, influence and profitability (du Gay, 1997, p. 1). It seems counter-intuitive to see “culture” defined in such opposite ends of a spectrum. In looking at “culture,” Williams (1958) states:

Where culture meant a state or habit of the mind, or the body of intellectual and moral activities, it means now, also, a whole way of life. This development like each of the original meanings and the relations between them, is not accidental, but general and deeply significant (Williams, 1958, p. xviii).

Williams’ (1958) explanation includes the phrase “it means now,” which illustrates the shifting and evolving definitions that have been considered. Williams states that the “original meanings and the relationships between them” are significant; this illustrates that coming to define culture is not an either/or situation, but a product of opposing tensions.

The notion of “culture” traditionally has been thought of in two ways: as “high” art, considered in contrast to the mundane, as it is connected to the idea of being “cultured” with aesthetics and knowledge; and as values and beliefs, or as Williams’ (1958) states, “the habit of the mind” (p. xviii). Cultural Studies was based on the idea that these two ideas could be put together, and that it was critical to have both an understanding or appreciation of culture

combined with an ability to “read” meanings within it (Hebdige, 1979; Williams, 1958). In this way, the concept of culture combines values and beliefs with the practices of everyday lives; however, as I have illustrated with du Gay’s (1997) and Williams’ (1958) definitions above, the notion of culture is continually evolving with new connections (i.e. the corporate identity), yet at the same time, maintains its original association with the “finer things in life.” Creating an all-encompassing definition is difficult. Halualani, Drzewiecka, and Mendoza (2003) explain:

The view... of culture as a set of socially created/shared meanings and practices must always go hand-in-hand with attention to the structures of power (government, law and court system, economy and modes of production, education and the media) that attended its constitution (in Halualani & Nakayama, 2011, p. 6).

This description makes a significant statement on the importance of combining ideas of culture as a meaningful and creative practice, as well as shaping and being shaped by power.

Turning back to culture as it pertains to tourism, cultural tourism is referenced as a means for intercultural understanding and experiencing difference. In UNESCO’s promotion of sustainable tourism development, tourism is viewed as a “tremendous opportunity to advance understanding among the inhabitants of the planet through encounters with others and their cultural and artistic expressions, monumental and living, past and present” (Bouchenaki, 2006, p. 4). Since its early inception in 1972, UNESCO provided the tourism industry with a broader notion of how to perceive “culture.” Culture is not only considered a material object, but culture also includes “intangible expressions such as language and oral tradition, social practices, rituals, festive and performative events” (Robinson & Picard, 2006, p. 11). This expansion of the concept of culture relates to Craik’s (1997) statement of its “multi-faceted” role in tourism.

Each of these discussions illustrates the complexity in defining culture in a singular, stable or unchanging way. In this project, I use the term “culture” in two ways: as it refers to Zeppel’s (1999) categories of tourists’ interests of Aboriginal cultural in tourism guides; and as a

dialectical project, always being worked on, and produced differently in various contexts. Zeppel (1999) determined the main categories of Aboriginality relating to tourism through a content analysis of travel articles, and included: “Aboriginal people; Aboriginal Spirituality or the Dreaming; Aboriginal Bushcraft Skills; Aboriginal Cultural Practices; and Aboriginal Artefacts” (p. 124). Therefore, in my study, a discussion of how I analyze the ways that guides use Aboriginal culture to discuss identity may include any of these categories.

In the second instance, I discuss culture as semiotically and discursively produced and “performed” by the dominant tourism authority and the local guides, and influenced by dialectical interactions. This notion of “culture” is difficult to bound in meaning, just as Clifford (1988) “[strains] for a concept that can preserve culture’s differentiating functions while conceiving of collective identity as a hybrid, often discontinuous inventive process” (p. 10). In this sense, culture is and does many things. In tourism, it is a product, experience or symbol, and tourism emphasizes culture as a point of difference (Favero, 2007). Culture here is an integral part of identity, but the two are not mutually determined:

...identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. (S. Hall, 1996b, p. 4).

It is not situated in any “truth” or against any binary (e.g. authentic/inauthentic, traditional/contemporary, etc.); it is a project that is constantly being negotiated. With culture framed in this way, we can understand how (re)presentations of culture are associated with history and motivation. For example, when Tourism Australia represents Aboriginal cultural tourism, it is constructing a national identity projected to outsiders that erases colonization, segregation from and historical differences with Aboriginal people. The tourism industry is

presenting an identity that has been formed within the dialectical spaces of tourism, and has produced discourses that serves Australia. It projects a united multicultural national identity. When local guides put forth their own narratives, their own experiences of history, language and identity—even if it is “shared” with the nation—present a different perspective of “becoming.” These discussions of identity and culture lend themselves well to the performance and production of tourism hosts, especially for marginalized hosts presenting Aboriginal identity and culture for tourists, and competing with dominant discourses.

... individuals as subjects identify (or do not identify) with the ‘positions’ to which they are summoned; as well as how they fashion, stylize, produce and ‘perform’ these positions, and why they never do so completely, for once and all time, and some never do, or are in a constant, agonistic process of struggling with, resisting, negotiating and accommodating the normative or regulative rules with which they confront and regulate themselves. In short, what remains is the requirement to think this relation of subject to discursive formations *as an articulation* (all articulations are properly relations of ‘no necessary correspondence,’ i.e. founded on that contingency which ‘reactivates the historical’ (cf. Laclau, 1990: 35) (S. Hall, 1996b, p. 14).

The hosts in Australia are continually negotiating their positions: performing and responding to the tourism imaginaries; and grappling with their knowledge of tourism representations and their own self-representation. In the dialectical spaces of the tourist *borderzones* (Bruner, 2005) culture itself is a continued process. I now move on to discuss the ways appropriation is conceptualized, and how it has real implications particularly when it is seemingly innocent in the tourism industry.

Appropriation of Culture.

Appropriation always comes before (and in a way only after) any attempt to speak of it. We might even say it is the very thing that is excluded when we speak of it. Appropriation is not merely a topic within wider categories of style, artistic identity and history, but also precedes these and makes them possible (R. Butler, 2004a, p. 13).

Like the concept of “culture,” “appropriation” is another term that has shifting meanings

and often leaves more questions than answers in its definition. It is commonly a term that is discussed in the art world and, in general, references imitating, borrowing, copying or mimicking (R. Butler, 2004b). It also has extreme negative associations of plagiarizing or stealing. The questions that often come to the surface with appropriation are: where is the original and how do they differ?

In Butler's (2004a) discussion of appropriation of Australian art (both indigenous and non-Aboriginal), he references Deleuze's (1983) writings comparing the "icon" and the "simulacrum" and states that there "is in fact no way of distinguishing between the two" (p. 15).

He explains:

The copy at the same time restates the original *and* usurps it, repeats it *and* takes its place. It both makes the originality of the original possible and destroys it. And we could never have one without the other (R. Butler, 2004a, p. 15).

Like "culture," appropriation is also not static, "but dynamic and interactive" (Welch, 2002, p. 22). The appropriation creates a series of possibilities of meaning in representing, which are influential in understanding the "original" and every other version thereof.

According to Heyd (2003), "cultural appropriation came into the spotlight in countries such as Canada, the United States, and Australia" in the 1990s when non-indigenous people copied, mimicked or stole indigenous and minority "ideas, images, and art styles" (p. 37). In Australia there are examples as early as the 1940s through the 1970s where non-Aboriginal artists were incorporating or copying indigenous designs into their paintings, pottery and housewares (Franklin, 2010). Three problematic areas of appropriation include: when culture is stolen; when culture is changed in a way that "threatens [its] perceived *authenticity*"; and, when the members of the originating group's identity are threatened (Heyd, 2003, pp. 37–38). In the first instance, appropriation may cause a loss of income to the original group, or can be seen "as

a continuation of European colonial appropriation of land and other resources” (Heyd, 2003, p. 38). When appropriation threatens *authenticity*, the original meaning or essence is changed, such as when white people play the blues (Heyd, 2003, p. 38). In the final instance, appropriation can undermine the survival of certain groups when cultural goods no longer distinguish the people as unique, or when culturally meaningful designs or practices are decontextualized and the significance is erased (Heyd, 2003, p. 38). Each of these perspectives is useful in my project for considering how using Aboriginal culture in its various contexts can have different implications.

The significance of appropriation as representation or commodification has real consequences, and one example of this is the proof of *Native Title* in Australia. Aboriginal people have been displaced from their country⁶ through colonization, the false declaration of *terra nullius*, the ongoing movement to settlements, and separation of families through the assimilation period. Originally, the term “Australian” was reserved for Aboriginal people, and as the European inhabitants recognized their own settlement of Australia, they took over the national identity and referenced Aboriginal people as “Our Aborigines” (White, 1991, p. 10; 15). The transformation of meaning has disjointed the connection between Aboriginal people and their “country while, through it, settler Australians have legitimated their own claim to Aboriginal land” (Marcus, 1997, p. 29). Marcus (1997) references these “processes by which meanings are transformed within a political hierarchy... as ‘cultural appropriation’” (p. 29). The *Native Title Act 1993*⁷ (PMC, n.d.) requires the group to have knowledge of the land (i.e. country) and traditional law related to that country in order to be entitled to the return of their

⁶ Aboriginal people use the word country as a description of the lands in their care. Oscar (2015) explains the “use [of] the term country to define how these immense terrains and interconnecting ecosystems, from the tropical saltwaters in the north, to rolling desert sand-hills and fertile river floodplains belonging to culturally and societally distinctive yet connected Aboriginal nations, each with its own language (transcript, para. 7).

⁷ See Broome (1994) for more details on native title. The Native Title Act was passed in 1993 and affirms that “Aboriginal people with traditional links to vacant crown land or who held pastoral leases could seek communal native title over that land” (Broome, 1994, p. 235).

land. To prove an ongoing relationship to country, Aboriginal people submit paintings and artifacts as evidence in *Native Title* hearings (Anker, 2005; Lane & Waitt, 2001). Lane and Waitt (2001) found that “authenticity” was central to the debate in measuring Aboriginal culture as proof of traditions relating to land (p. 397). For example, tourist arts were measured as less “authentic” than rock art or large canvas paintings, so “only traditional cultural forms accrue symbolic capital for Aboriginal people” (p. 398). In proving *Native Title*, we can see that the appropriation of Aboriginal art and culture has the potential to problematize notions of “authenticity” for Aboriginal people, and threaten their cultural group identity.

In tourism, I am considering appropriation of Aboriginal people and culture throughout the industry, through: representations in the dominant tourism marketing; the narratives by the guides; and, the semiotic resources presenting Aboriginality. One way to understand appropriation is by examining history and the ways art or culture has been taken up (R. Butler, 2004a). As I have just described the shifting meanings and impossibility of distinguishing difference, the genealogy of a particular representation can also be difficult to trace explicitly. However, in the situation of Aboriginal culture in Australia:

...the West’s history of colonialism must not be overlooked in any discussion regarding appropriation, particularly since the West continues to represent and legitimise the representation of the ‘Other’s’ culture and identity, although allegedly having now reached the ‘post-colonial’ stage” (Grimes, 1998, p. 433; in Welch, 2002).

The non-Aboriginal appropriation of culture is considered as a colonization of culture, which is particularly significant when we consider the Australian Aboriginal loss of culture due to colonization, displacement and assimilation. In the tourism industry, the representations of Aboriginal people and culture are presented in the context of leisure, which presents the tourism industry’s appropriation of Aboriginality as innocent and well-meaning for the benefit of the nation’s economy. Haynes (2010) sees “commodification as appropriation” (p. 175), and the

commodification of culture(s) in tourism is ubiquitous.

Appropriation of the Dreamtime.

In my focus of Aboriginal art and culture, and the appropriation of it, much of Aboriginal art and cultural practices are based on their spirituality and creation stories, also known as the “Dreamtime.” Therefore, this section provides a foundation of the concept or belief system.

The “Dreamtime,” Dreaming or *Tjukurrpa* (in Arrernte language) stories often tell of the ancestral creation of the land and all living creatures and plants, and are passed on through generations as a means of continuing knowledge and belief systems (Cabinet, n.d.). In speaking of the relations between land and people, Oscar (2015) explains:

The languages of our countries, like Bunuba, speaks to the intimate attachment we have to the land, and the deep knowledge of these unique habitats that we carry with us from one generation to the next since a time immemorial (para. 7).

Her statement emphasizes the differences between Aboriginal cultural groups belonging to different areas of lands, and links language and knowledge to country as well. She emphasizes the deep and meaningful history of these beliefs and how they are passed down through time:

Our earth is imbued with the voices of our ancestors, their lessons from across time and space help to situate us in the present (para. 12).

Lowe and Pike (2009) reference the “desert legends” which:

...tell how natural features were formed; stars and moon, rocks, waterholes, even individual trees commemorate characters and incidents from these stories, linking places in the minds of people as they move through the countryside (p. 131).

The stories are intertwined with notions of creation, history, people and country. The spiritual beliefs and creation stories also form Aboriginal Law and the set of values that are also passed on to the next generations.

This spirituality is represented visually, verbally and musically⁸ through Aboriginal arts, crafts and culture, which then provide a significant record of tradition to pass on to future generations. These discursive and semiotic representations have value in proving that certain Aboriginal groups belonged to a designated area of land, and have the potential for providing the proof that is needed to return land to Aboriginal people through native title (cf. Anker, 2005). The painting of traditional designs or performance of culture is significant for Aboriginal people “in terms of embodying Dreaming stories and their connections to places and ancestral Beings” (Anker, 2005, p. 116). The Dreamtime spirituality and creation stories are inseparable from Aboriginal art and culture. In fact, these Dreamtime stories commonly accompany pieces of art or even souvenirs, where the background story tells the meaning to buyers (cf. Jordan, 2005; Myers, 2002). In this way the story potentially adds more value to the piece and becomes integral to the commodity.

The term Dreamtime is actually not an Aboriginal term, but white anthropologists created this term to “signify everything that was or remains Aboriginal” (Wolfe, 1991, p. 199), and Dreamtime or Dreamings are commonly referenced throughout the Australian tourism industry in relation to Aboriginal culture. The term Dreamtime is considered less appropriate than Dreaming(s), as Dreamtime “tends to indicate a time period, which has finished,” and “the Dreamings are ongoing all over Australia” (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation & University of New South Wales, 1996, p. 3). Some Aboriginal people have taken up using the term Dreamtime⁹, but they also reference their creation stories as history, as a story, or by its various Aboriginal words (e.g. *altyerre*, *Yijan*) (Rose, 1996, p. 26).

Wolfe (1991) makes the excellent point that interchanging one English word for the

⁸ See also Chatwin & Stewart (2012).

⁹ Wolfe (1991) has argued that when Aboriginal people use the term “Dreamtime,” they are speaking English, and not because this was an Aboriginal term (p. 218).

multitude of Aboriginal words¹⁰ “derived from separate cultural regions has the effect of smothering multiplicity under a single undifferentiated category—‘aboriginal’” (p. 203). In changing the complex spiritual ideas from Aboriginal language(s) to oversimplified English translations, anthropologists have reinforced a sort of linguistic colonization and romanticization of Aboriginal people (Wolfe, 1991); and, by the dominant tourism authority maintaining this terminology, they uphold the asymmetrical power dynamic between Tourism Australia and Aboriginal Australia. The English word “Dreamtime” is not an accurate term as it gives the impression that the creation stories are something that happen while people are sleeping, or that these stories are mythological or imaginary (Korff, n.d. accessed 2016). The continuing use of the term Dreamtime¹¹ is potentially strategic from a tourism-marketing standpoint: it is English, simple to (presumably) understand, continues to romanticize Aboriginal people by equating their spirituality with simple dreams or myths, and ultimately provides brand recognition. By Tourism Australia referencing Dreamtime as “myths,” it gives the impression that they are not real or true, or it can “convey the impression that Dreaming Stories are fairy tales rather than creation stories” (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation & University of New South Wales, 1996, p. 3).

The “Aboriginalization” and cultural appropriation of Aboriginal culture and practices for tourism is not a recent endeavor. I conclude this Australian cultural tourism section with a brief history of Aboriginal Australia, Aboriginal cultural tourism, with an overview of some of the scholarly foci in Australian cultural tourism research.

¹⁰ There were over 500 different Aboriginal language groups across the continent in 1788 (Broome, 1994, p. 238). According to the National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILS) Report (2005) there was “an original number of over 250 known Australian Indigenous languages, [and] only about 145 Indigenous languages are still spoken and the vast majority of these, about 110, are in the severely and critically endangered categories” (p. 3). The large difference between the originally spoken number may be due to the differences in dialects versus different languages.

¹¹ I will use the term Dreamtime for the sake of referencing how it is used in tourism.

Histories and Trajectories: A Brief Overview of Australian Government Policies and Aboriginal Tourism.

Australia has a violent history as it pertains to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander¹² people, and the policies that have been used against them. Australia's colonial history cannot be given enough emphasis in this short space, but at the very least I need to acknowledge the types of histories and injustices that Aboriginal people have had to endure. In this section, I begin with a brief history of the policies that have deeply impacted Aboriginal people and their cultures. The crimes and abuse against Aboriginal people is still deeply ingrained in the fabric of contemporary Australia, and cannot be separated even from conversations as seemingly benign as the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry. I will follow with an overview of Aboriginal cultural tourism more generally, and how scholars have approached this topic in Australia.

In general, it is difficult to find Australia's history since colonization written from an Aboriginal perspective. Many of the details of Aboriginal culture and history have been studied and recorded by non-indigenous anthropologists, and the court can uphold these written records over oral accounts to provide proof of Aboriginal people's histories as it relates to their connection to land (cf. Anker, 2005; Cowlshaw, 2004; Lane & Waitt, 2001). Cowlshaw (2004) explains that in the past twenty years there have been recordings of Aboriginal people telling their version of the past, but the information is still small compared to all of the other historical and government accounts that are still emphasized in public institutions. When Aboriginal narratives do not align with non-Aboriginal stories of the past, there are "new epistemological, emotional, moral and political burdens" for Aboriginal people due to non-indigenous public "sympathy as well as criticism and suspicion" (p. 202). For non-Aboriginal Australians, there is

¹² Due to the geographical areas that I carried out my research, this section predominantly focuses on Australian Aboriginal people. The Torres Strait Islander populations share some of the same histories, but also have unique circumstances that differ from other Aboriginal groups.

a need to underplay the massacres and the savagery to “rescue Australia’s reputation” (Cowlshaw, 2004, p. 204). The harsh reality is that Australia’s injustice towards Aboriginal people does not lie in a distant past. For both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, “the bloody frontier may seem long gone, but there were killings within living memory, and some government policies that are now seen as savage were enacted by people as near to us by our parents” (Cowlshaw, 2004, p. 204). The recentness of government laws that have displaced and perpetuated inequality for Aboriginal people and the nation’s focus on polishing its reputation are likely influences on whether a different Aboriginal history can be told from a non-indigenous perspective.

The key elements of Australia’s history and policy that will be outlined are the displacement, the assimilation period, and the move to a self-determination period and land rights. At the time of colonization, there were “approximately 260 distinct language groups and 500 dialects” (Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2010, p. 26). Each group was located in different areas of the lands of Australia, which they reference as “country,” and are spiritually connected to those lands through their Dreamings. As white Europeans invaded the areas and declared it *terra nullius* (no man’s land), Aboriginal people were pushed off of their original lands, which caused Aboriginal people to lose their sacred lands and traditional fishing or hunting areas. As Aboriginal people’s lands were taken, Aboriginal people became dispersed, and often ended up living on the fringes of European society (Broome, 1994, p. 34). White intrusion forced Aboriginal people to “[eke] out an existence, scrounging for fish along the harbor foreshore, selling some of their catch, begging food or earning it doing odd jobs” (Broome, 1994, p. 34). This is not to say that the Aboriginal people were passive; there were disastrous and bloody battles in the Aboriginal people’s attempt to resist the white invaders.

Aboriginal people adapted and survived through disease, European contact, loss of land, and changes to their known means of living (Moran, 2005, p. 136).

By Australia's federation in 1901, "Aboriginal people were then subjected to government policies that attempted over time to displace, 'protect,' disperse, convert and eventually assimilate them" (Dudgeon et al., 2010, p. 30). Through the early 1900s, Australian states and territories¹³ introduced "Aboriginal Protection Acts," which were policies used to justify the racism of white Australia (Moran, 2005), and "the effects were a form of cultural genocide of Indigenous Australians, through the loss of language, family dispersion and the cessation of cultural practices" (Dudgeon et al., 2010, p. 30). Aboriginal people had been greatly reduced in number since British invasion, and in the name of protection, "many had been placed in government and church-run missions, stations, and reserves, and thus kept separate from settler Australians, many of whom could thereby conveniently forget about them" (Moran, 2005, p. 140). Dudgeon et al. (2010) state that the Western Australian *Aborigines Act 1905* is "symbolic of Indigenous oppression," and the "*Native Administrative Act 1936* consolidated the absolute rights of the State over Aboriginal people" (p. 30). It was illegal for Aboriginal people to own their own land or stock unless they applied for an Exemption Certificate, which was said to put Aboriginal people "on the same level as a whiteman" (Morgan, 1995, p. 125). However, if granted a certificate, the Aboriginal person was no longer allowed to associate with their family group, or any Aboriginal person who did not have Exemption, participate in traditional corroborees, or purchase alcohol for other Aboriginal people (Morgan, 1995, p. 127). Families were also destroyed through the "WA *Aborigines Act 1905* [which] made the Chief Protector of Aborigines the legal guardian of every Aboriginal person and of 'half-caste' children" (Dudgeon

¹³ This period was also a time of "White Australia Policy" which limited who could migrate to Australia. These policies upheld white Australians as natives of Australian, and other races as less significant (cf. Moran, 2005; 1991).

et al., 2010, p. 30). Government agencies and police were given the right to remove “half-caste” children from their families to “assimilate” in white society. Even today, many of these children who are now adults are still searching for their lost families and have no knowledge of their traditional cultures (HREOC (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission), 1997; personal field notes, 2013).

It was not until 1967 that Australian Aboriginal people were counted in the national census, and most were not allowed to vote until 1962. In the 1960s-1970s post-war Australia, Australia turned from its emphasis on a white national identity to one where government policy recognized “the diversity of its ethnic make-up” (Frow & Morris, 1993, p. ix). The 1960s and 1970s also was an era of resurgence and resistance for Australian Aboriginal people, as it was for other indigenous cultures in the United States and Canada. During this period Aboriginal activists formed the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra in 1972, and questions of land claims were brought forward. In 1975, the “Whitlam Labor federal ministry passed the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Queensland Discrimination Laws) Act” (Broome, 1994, p. 180). At this stage, Australian policy moved—in theory at least, from “assimilation” to “integration,” and “although official attitudes to ‘Our Aborigines’ remained paternalistic, they at least allowed for the maintenance of the sort of cultural identity which Aborigines themselves were developing” (White, 1991, p. 168). These new policies looked to “Aboriginal people rather than government institutions as the ones to decide on their own future, and it thereby created its own demand for political empowerment” (Frow & Morris, 1993, p. ix). This new phase that upholds the multi-cultural society:

...did not reflect any real improvement in the position of Aborigines and migrants, most of whom remained on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder. This image coincided—somewhat paradoxically—with what Whitlam referred to as the ‘new nationalism’. Like Whitlam himself, it was closely identified with the arts” (White, 1991,

p. 169).

This point is especially significant in considering that in the 1960s and 1970s Aboriginal people were working toward cultural resurgence and their position on their traditional lands. It is also striking in that Aboriginal culture and arts are prominently used in Australian tourism to mark Australia as distinct from other countries. The significance of Aboriginal connection to their country is inherently tied to their Dreaming and the culture that they create. This is the time during the 1970s that the settlement of Papunya Tula in the Northern Territory began to create their “permanent” works of art, where Dreaming stories were transitioned onto canvases (cf. Johnson, 2014; Myers, 2002).

In relation to the advancements of Aboriginal people in these last sixty years, I cannot leave out the Mabo decision. Eddie Mabo was an Aboriginal activist who spent his life fighting against the colonial record of *terra nullius*, and worked to prove Native Title. Through anthropological records and Aboriginal Dreaming stories (and even art), “the High Court ruled that native title could still exist in various parts of the country to the extent that various governments had not ruled specifically to dispossess the Aboriginal owners (through the granting of land titles or through legislation)” (Moran, 2005, p. 152). Eddie passed away in February 1992 and the Mabo Decision was passed in June 1992.

This brief history of Australian policies as it has pertained to Aboriginal people really has not done it justice, but I hope it provides a foundation of background to understand a basic level of injustices and racial policies that have existed in Australian Aboriginal history. While Australia has made some progress, I demonstrate throughout this dissertation that history and policy are still prevalent in producing and maintaining race relations. I now turn to how Aboriginal cultural tourism has been examined.

Histories of Australian Aboriginal Cultural Tourism.

In the earliest stages of tourism, the Grand Tour was a typical activity for elite English men in their early 20s in order to travel throughout Europe and collect experiences and foreign artifacts. To push the envelope and experience a unique version of the Grand Tour, Joseph Banks decided to join Cook's voyage in 1768 to compose his own form of prestige and collection of curiosities by visiting distant lands (White, 2005, pp. 1–7). Both Banks and Cook wrote in their journals about the “natives” they encountered in “New Holland” as both the “happiest” and as “noble savages” (White, 2005, pp. 6–7). White (2005) explains Bank's voyage “as transforming the nature and meaning of travel as leisure” in several ways, including: how Bank's mode of travel and destinations brought him social distinction; how leisure became a contrast to work and was associated with class; and, there “was the possibility of turning the observation of other cultures into entertainment” (p. 4; 6). After 1788, the Europeans continued to return to their point of arrival “on the southern side of Botany Bay” and colonized an area where they produced monuments that became the focus of tourism (White, 2005, pp. 15–16). At the other side of the bay in La Perouse, “the indigenous people would maintain a connection to place” and produced souvenirs for white tourists to create an income (White, 2005, p. 16; see also Errington, 2010). Within a short period of time, Aboriginal people had become a spectacle for entertainment, and learned to commodify their culture to support their survival.

Aboriginal people and culture have also been discussed in relation to the history of tourism and how they were incorporated into travel promotional materials. Early 1930s travel posters created stories of the “dying race,” where Aboriginal people were represented as the opposite to the modern world that was inevitably spreading (Elder, 2007, p. 151). Elder (2007)

describes an Indian-Pacific train poster where an Aboriginal man in a loin cloth and spear is in the foreground, with a large train approaching in the background (p. 151). The poster signifies eradication, and expresses “a feeling of loss and perhaps nostalgia about this change, but the size and speed of the train also suggest the inevitability of the event and that it is out of the control of non-Indigenous peoples” (Elder, 2007, p. 151). With the focus of this tourism promotion on train travel, the image hints at seeing a glimpse of the dying breed as you speed by on the Trans-Australian Railway. There are references made to early 1940s travel posters that use Aboriginal designs but are created by non-Aboriginal people (Franklin, 2010). In this sense, it is the “Aboriginalization” (Franklin, 2010) of tourism that creates an “essence” of Aboriginal people and culture as related to tourism.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Aboriginal tourist arts and souvenirs were made more prevalent, and “artefacts such as boomerangs, carvings and bark paintings were produced by Aboriginal communities for the tourist trade” (Fry & Willis, 2004, p. 198). Errington (2010) explains that “the first comprehensive study of the Australian tourist industry” in 1965 emphasized the opportunity to promote Aboriginal people of Australia for the tourism industry, and “‘Traditional’ Aboriginal culture was the best cultural resource Australia could exploit” (Harris, Kerr, Forster and Company, in 2010, p. 78). However, “from the late nineteenth century, the boomerang and other Aboriginal images were available for use within popular culture often with no reference to their Aboriginal origin” (Errington, 2010, p. 79). Here, Errington refers to the use of the boomerang incorporated into brands and logos. The souvenir industry continued to expand, and by the twenty-first century Aboriginal products such as the boomerang were being mass-produced in China and other locations (Errington, 2010, p. 80). Aboriginal people have long been recognized for their cultural objects and “traditional” image that they offered for the

benefit of tourism, even as they have been dislocated from the people who have produced them.

Other work on Aboriginal tourism typically examines a specific focus in business or outcomes; for example, Aboriginal cultural tourism has been represented or perceived as having value. Zeppel (1999) examined Australian travelogues to learn the ways that Aboriginal people and culture are represented. The representations followed stereotypical tropes of “traditional, times, and spiritually different” and “situated in remote areas of outback Australia” (Zeppel, 1999, p. 123). Another perspective was to examine whether there was even interest in Aboriginal cultural tourism, where Ryan and Huyton (2002) concluded that only a minority of people expressed interest, and those that did were commonly educated young females from North America, the United Kingdom or Germany (p. 640). In national tourism, Galliford (2010) examines Aboriginal cultural tourism and Aboriginal people’s own national identity. He sees the interactions between non-Aboriginal Australians and contemporary Aboriginal people as a personal level of reconciliation (Galliford, 2010). These studies highlight how perceptions are created and related to Aboriginal people as a part of, or separate from, a national view.

Another approach examines the ways Aboriginal cultural tourism is represented as “authentic” or “traditional.” Lane and Waitt (2001) compare how authenticity of Aboriginal culture is measured in cultural tourism versus for native title, and found differences were measured on notions of “tradition.” Tradition is also conceived as a historical trajectory that has shaped current day tourist activities. The performance of corroborees has been a part of entertainment and tourism for a long time, and Parsons (2002) provides a historical perspective on the ways corroborees have transformed over time, which has shaped two contemporary dance performances in Australia.

A critical area of research in cultural tourism is examining the participation and impacts

of tourism on Aboriginal people and culture. The Australian Federal Government has increased the pressure for Aboriginal people to play a role in tourism (Altman, 1989). In a study evaluating the benefits of Aboriginal people's participation, Altman (1989) states that tourism can increase Aboriginal people's economic leverage, but there are other political, historical and socio-cultural issues at hand that need addressing. In 2004, the Australian Federal Government started a mentoring program to train Aboriginal people for the tourism industry (Buultjens & Gale, 2013). Buultjens and Gale (2013) found the program needed more development in order for the mentoring program to be successful. These types of studies are interested in finding sustainable ways for Aboriginal people to participate and maintain their position within the tourism industry.

There are also the impacts on culture when it threatens to change or disappear. Palmer (2004) examined the interactions between Aboriginal culture and tourism in a study of bushwalkers in Kakadu National Park. Scherrer and Doohan (2011) focused on the intangible land impacts of tourism and access to Aboriginal lands. They explain that typically, impact studies use quantifiable measurements of land impact, but dismiss the personal, spiritual land connections that Aboriginal people have, which erases Aboriginal perspectives (Scherrer & Doohan, 2011). Both of these studies highlight the need to resolve the West's approach to tourism and industry by negotiating with Aboriginal people for access to their lands in a way that works with indigenous beliefs and values.

I conclude this section with a study by Nielsen and Wilson (2012) who examined the lack of presence, roles and voices of Aboriginal people in Aboriginal cultural tourism. They studied scholars' research in the area of indigenous tourism and categorized them in four ways: invisible, identified, stakeholder, and indigenous-driven (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012). Interestingly, the categories covered both the identity of the author and the focus and voices included in the work.

In “invisible,” indigenous people are an objective focus, but their “voices and experiences remain invisible” (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 69). “Identified” references a “focus on advocacy for indigenous people through tourism,” but they are still objectified (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 69). In “Stakeholder,” there is a focus of indigenous people, and they are “often participants in the research” or their voices are sometimes used (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 69). Finally, “Indigenous-driven” is when indigenous people are “driving tourism research that facilitates their own needs and wants” (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 69). They state they “did attempt to provide a broad enough set of examples from different eras, publication types and countries,” but note that since they are located in Australia, there was a higher number of Australian scholars represented (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 68). They point out that from 1990 to the present, scholarly research has shown a trajectory from “invisible” to more “indigenous-driven” work done recently, although research in all of the categories is still being done (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 73). In conclusion, while more indigenous voices are present in indigenous tourism research, it is still “predominately driven by the needs and priorities of non-indigenous people” (Nielsen & Wilson, 2012, p. 67).

To supplement the lack of indigenous voices in critical tourism studies, I would like to point to some remarkable works by Aboriginal scholars and writers that have been influential in framing my knowledge in general on Australia and Aboriginal Australia. I have found these perspectives particularly helpful in understanding the actual lived experiences of Aboriginal people. I look to Sally Morgan (1988, 1995) and her biography and auto-biography on Aboriginal life; Marcia Langton (1993) and her study of media representations; Deborah Bird Rose (1996) with her detailing of Aboriginal knowledge of country; Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2004, 2012) and her countering of white representations; Pat Lowe with Jimmy Pike (2009)

with stories related to living in Jimmy's country; among others to inform my readings of discourses in my project.

Relevant Literature

Now that I have demonstrated how Aboriginal culture is woven into the fabric of the Australian cultural tourism industry, I provide a framework of relevant literature for this dissertation project. In this section, I draw upon scholars from a diverse array of disciplines to consider: elements of power; individual or group positioning; and, the significant role of creating discourses within tourism. In doing so, this section examines: the tourism imaginaries; the role of tourism hosts; art objects and identity politics; and, identity narratives. I see this section as being organized by elements that contribute to the non-dominant hosts' presentation of identity. It begins with the outsiders' influence, moves to the broad notion of "hosting," and ends with discussions of how cultural objects and identity narratives can play significant roles in communicating identity.

Producing and Responding to the Tourism Imaginaries

*"See **Uluru** rise 348 metres from the desert in the deep centre of Australia, matching the light and weather with hues so vivid they upstage the sunset. Walk around Uluru's base with an **Anangu** guide, and learn how it was created by spirit ancestors in the Dreamtime. You can even trace the battle scars they left behind. See Uluru on a motorcycle, **from the back of a camel** or on a scenic helicopter flight. Drink in its sunset glow with a glass of champagne, then return to a campfire dinner of barramundi, emu or kangaroo underneath a starlit sky"*
(Australia.com/Explore/Red Centre, p. 113).

The tourism imaginary is a powerful force that ultimately fulfills the expectations of the tourists, and is (re)produced by the tourism industry to fulfill these tourists' notions. Tourists (and researchers) begin their journeys with preconceived ideas of the place to which we are traveling. These ideas are produced, developed and shaped by the countless forms of media and

communication we encounter. This includes movies, books, art, travel guides, magazines, marketing materials, stories from our friends or family, and the list goes on. One example is the quote from Tourism Australia above, where “synthetic personalization” (Fairclough, 1989) and adjectives help to paint a picture of a place with “you” in the center of it all. Fairclough (1989) describes “synthetic personalization” as when the text gives “the impression of treating each of the people ‘handled’ *en masse* as an individual” (p. 62). Here, the description is broad enough so it can allow you to imagine your particular “flavor” of imaginary.

Imaginarities can focus on the exoticized and romantic ideals of a place and its people. Imada (2004) notes that the images and performances of Hawaiian hula girls seduced people’s imaginations, and “produced a feminized version” of the islands, “familiar to those who had never visited” (p. 114). These “ambassadors of aloha” ultimately created an “imagined intimacy” that “made American military and tourist expansion seem benign” (Imada, 2004, pp. 112–4). According to Bauman (1998), we make our way through the world being pulled by desires, which makes us yearn for one place or object over another. One desire is always out-competing another, and “travelling hopefully is in the life of the consumer much more pleasurable than to arrive” (Bauman, 1998, p. 84). In other words, the imaginary is what seduces the traveler, and the materiality of arrival does not necessarily coincide with the object(s) of desire. The traveller is always yearning for the object that has not yet been consumed.

The imaginaries about indigenous people represented in traditional and timeless form also lure the potential tourists with another desire: one of “primitive” ideals of a nostalgic past (cf. Bruner, 2005; Franklin, 2010; Salazar, 2012). The tourism narratives of the white mobile traveller compared to the “younger, poorer darker-skinned people” reinforces “a story of unequal power relations, neocolonialism, and elitism” (Bruner, 2005, p. 21). Bruner (2005) describes

these as narratives of “the disappearing savage, the idea that authentic primitive cultures are being eroded by the forces of modernization” (p. 21). This search of a distant “Other” is a search for a type of nostalgia, which is “a kind of mourning for the destruction of an imagined traditional culture (or a sexualized and eroticized one)” (Salazar, 2012, p. 871). This is an ultimate search for difference, as it is not only an embodied one, but one that relates to a time period that is prior to colonization and emphasizes the traditional or “primitive” Other. These imaginaries speak to a fantasy world that is (re)produced over time and aims to meet the desires in tourism.

Said (1979) uses the term “imaginative geography” as a constitutive element of Orientalism. He explains, “some distinctive objects are made by the mind, and that these objects, while appearing to exist objectively, have only a fictional reality” (p. 54). Objects (or places) are arbitrary, and it is humans who classify, define, represent and (re)produce meanings that are attached to places. For Orientalism, Said (1979) explains that there is political value placed upon these representations of space that are distant to us, and the imaginative geography helps “the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away” (p. 55). An individual or collective imaginary creates “the Other” that is distinguished through difference, and for Orientalism, places the West against the exotic and distant East. Said’s (1979) imaginative geography produces discursive meaning. He gives the example of a travel guidebook, where tourists may fall back on the text when they experience something foreign or unexpected that threatens their confidence (p. 93). Said (1979) states that “people, places and experiences can always be described by a book, so much so that the book (or text) acquires a greater authority, and use, even than the actuality it describes” (p. 93). Said’s notion of imaginative geography emphasizes the ways preconceived ideas of place

connect to questions of what is “authentic” in the actual experience in tourism, and what (or who) plays the authority or expert of that knowledge.

All of the imaginaries examined here emphasize the discursive production of places and people, often before there is actual physical contact or experience. The imaginary does not begin and end before the traveler becomes mobile, though. Imaginaries are (re)produced and continually established within the tourism destinations. In Salazar and Graburn’s (2014) edited volume, they “conceptualize imaginaries as socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people’s personal imaginings and that are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices” (p. 1). This definition foregrounds the production of imaginaries as co-created, with dynamic meanings that contribute to knowledge and ideology. This dynamic nature is emphasized where Salazar (2012) encourages scholars to use a “theoretical approach that equally stresses the dialectics of production and consumption” by using the metaphor of performance which sees “tourism as a mutually negotiated relationship between consumers and producers, simultaneously a culture product and producer of culture” (p. 867). In the *borderzone* (Bruner, 2005) or the dialectic space where tourists and hosts come together, the imaginaries create and contribute to the preconceived expectations of both locals and visitors (Bruner, 2005; Salazar, 2012). As I mentioned above, the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990) and the host gazes (Bunten, 2013) are influenced by the imaginaries, in that the tourist is looking for the preconceived notions to materialize, and the hosts are attempting to create a tourism product or narrative that fulfills those expectations to some degree. Salazar (2012) describes this interaction:

The circulation of tourism discourses and imaginaries is, in many respects, a translocally negotiated process involving variously situated actors and their glocal engagements with tourism to (re)produce ‘stereotypic images, discredited histories, and romantic fantasies’ (Bruner, 2005, p. 76). Rather than mere projections, these transactions are negotiated in various ways and both restrict the lives of people and create new subject positions. (Salazar, 2012, p. 869)

It is critical to recognize that the hosts' presentation is also working within an asymmetrical system of power, where there is the expectation of a certain type of cultural performance in order to be able to participate in the economy of tourism (Bunten, 2011, 2014). The representations of people and places are in constant negotiation between the various stakeholders of tourism: both through the wide-range of travellers and tourists, and through the diverse, and often competing hosts.

The concept of the tourism imaginary runs through my project as one of the fundamental ideas contributing to the dialectical production of culture. The tourism industry would not be the global entity that it is without producing people and places of difference, luring people's imaginations and materializing symbols that fulfill tourists' expectations.

The Roles of Tourism Hosts

In this section, I explain the ways scholars have studied hosts within tourism. I then describe the importance of hosts in my own research, and the ways their role as host responds to my research question asking whether local hosts (or guides) perpetuate or potentially undermine the government's dominant narrative. I explain the significance of considering the variety of players who may be "hosts."

According to C. Michael Hall (1997), beginning in the late 1970s scholars increasingly recognized the need to examine the impacts of cross-cultural communication and the relationship between host and tourist in less developed countries. However, only more recently have scholars begun to turn their attention to these areas of research in Western destinations, like Australia (p. 20). Scholars have examined the impact of tourism on host cultures from the business management perspective, where economy, number of tourists, and tourism training programs

result in either positive or negative outcomes (Smith, 1989). Some more critical perspectives in tourism explore the ways local guides are in a fragile position in the glocal¹⁴ tourism context (Salazar, 2010b), the ways an indigenous community may change its cultural practices (Causey, 2003), play a role in global flows and institutions (Myers, 2002), or create a political expression of identity through their own businesses (Bunten, 2010). The more critical studies provide models for my own research to think about the ways that local people participate in the tourism industry by informing tourists about their culture. My project differs from these tourism studies in that it is a comparative study between different hosts' narratives about the same kind of cultural practices and objects, and interrogates how power and societal differences potentially affect the representational outcomes. I examine how local people in varying tourism positions use tourism as a platform to reproduce the global or dominant tourism narratives, put forward their own cultural values and identity politics, or complicate the representations altogether.

Hosts are produced and constructed for tourism as they perform, stage and negotiate identity. In much tourism material and scholarly writing, the terms "local" and "host" are often used interchangeably (cf. C. M. Hall, 1997; Smith, 1989), which frames local people as playing a role to host tourists and assumes they consent to being part of the tourism industry. For my purposes, a host in this study may work for the government tourism authority or non-governmental tourism activities, markets or cultural centers. They are key participants in tourism, as they are the ones creating, representing and shaping identity narratives particularly to entertain and inform global and national tourists. I find this role particularly intriguing, as the person working in this role negotiates his or her own position and experience in society with the business and entertainment aspect of tourism. For example, in Australia, hosts speaking of

¹⁴ The term "glocalization" originated with Robertson (1995) and is utilized to compensate for the ways that the global processes are localized.

Aboriginal culture might be negotiating their own identity to play a role in tourism, and balance part of their national identity with the inequality and racism against Aboriginal people. My interest and focus on hosts is to understand how local people can be active participants in reading and drawing upon Aboriginal culture to put forth particular viewpoints about their own identity/ies.

There are also tensions at play in the tourism industry itself. When tourists and hosts interact, hosts negotiate when to utilize a preplanned and rehearsed script or when to engage in spontaneous conversation. On one hand, there is what MacCannell (1976) refers to as a series of “staged authenticities”—referencing Goffman’s “front stage/back stage”—where tourist spaces are staged to be “authentic” and give tourists the impression that they will see beyond the staging and performances (p. 92). In this situation, the audience/tourists are in the front of the stage, which gives way to multiple layers of symbolic “back stage.” This notion of “staged authenticities” is important to the idea of host and to my research because tours are inherently about telling tourists what is “authentic” for a particular culture or place. The hosts perform this “authentic” presentation, and the audience believes that it gets to experience something that is not staged or performed. One can never really get to the “authentic” back stage, as it is a series of separations between the tourists and others’ day-to-day work life, which for tourism hosts is a highly scripted and manipulated setting. The relations have become so “staged” that it is difficult to imagine what areas of life are not produced and managed. On the other hand, when tourists and hosts interact there is some room for the script to go by the wayside. There is potential for dynamic and dialectical interactions in these spaces that produce tension in the narratives.

My research analyzes the ways marginalized people play a role as hosts in tourism to intervene in their own representations, and examines how they use Aboriginal culture to facilitate

this position. Understanding the scripting and staging of hosts is significant in considering how the tourism industry strategically develops and plans tourism spaces to provide a particular representation for tourists. But simultaneously, I recognize that the hosts are like actors on that stage, all of whom have their own interests at stake and experiences to negotiate.

Art Objects and Identity Politics

The movement and interaction of hosts and visitors within tourism influence changes in art and culture. The tourists also influence the need for local people to produce representations of their culture. With this local/tourist/art object relationship, I consider the role of cultural practices or art in mediating identity within global/local connections. Salazar (2010b) states that “scholars have a long way to go in understanding exactly how the local and the global are connected, disconnected, and reconnected” (Salazar, 2010b, p. 178), and for my project, tourism is a key site for examining identity formation and power dynamics, as well as local and global flows. Tourism provides a way to examine the interaction between the mass movement of people and local cultures. For example, it is the very presence of tourists (and their preconceived ideas of places) that have caused local people to present their arts and cultural objects within tourism. Tourism is also an industry that is situated between national and global policy and economic dynamics: it is influenced by global politics and world affairs, as much as it is impacted by natural disasters, war and economies of different countries. Finally, tourism is also a significant site as it produces art, images and information about a place that informs intercultural understanding for outsiders through the guise of entertainment.

Scholars have written about art and tourism with several different foci. One such focus is on people’s cultural identity or how their characteristics are reflected through art objects.

Colonial explorers and tourists have utilized cultural artifacts as a way to emphasize other cultures and people as curiosities and exotic, both in a negative sense (i.e. stories of cannibalism and inhumaneness) (Thomas, 1989), or a positive one (i.e. to portray innovation or skilled craftsmanship) (Causey, 2003; Thomas, 1989). Rather than focusing on the subject matter of the art (i.e., what the painting or sculpture is *of*), these scholars have illustrated that the art object itself is meaningful. Rosi (1991) analyzed Papua New Guinea's new parliament house to offer another perspective on art in relation to identity: even though the art was critiqued for being abstract versions of regional traditions, the position and combination of styles raised national consciousness and pride for Papua New Guineans, which provided a model *for* society rather than *of* society (p. 318). This area of work is important to my project in understanding the ways art as an object represents identity and communicates meaning in significant ways, not just through its subject matter but also through its very existence (i.e., the ways it is utilized and discussed).

In tourism, the authenticity of the production and tradition of art and artifacts is often questioned. Many times a certain object is no longer created or used by a particular group of people for their day-to-day use, but it will continue to be made predominantly because tourists have come to expect it (Causey, 2003; Little, 2004). In fact, the traditional object (e.g., carving, clothing, etc.) will be altered to meet the needs of the tourists, such as funeral carvings made in travel sizes (Adams, 2006), prints of clothing made in a popular style (Little, 2004), or the traditional or fine art altered to become a souvenir or kitsch (Graburn, 1984). Yet, in each of these studies an overlapping theme is the local people's ability to use tourism as a means of maintaining their art practices and telling stories about their culture.

When local people participate in tourism through art, not only has the art changed, but

also scholars have asserted that the intersection between local people and tourists creates transformations in culture. It is not just a positive or negative change, but a complex one where the dialectical exchange between local people and tourists illustrates a society that is changing and evolving with the industry, not being held back or typified because of it (Causey, 2003, p. 36). This may come about through new or maintained cultural products as mentioned above, or through the ways that local people function in their communities. These changes may include shifts in gender roles, such as when women participate in the tourist markets and travel from their homes for days (Little, 2004), or when the interaction between tourists and local people “facilitates the ‘consumption’ of cultures by tourists” (Causey, 2003, p. 36), and formulates perceptions about outsiders (both by the tourists and the local people). The research on art markets influencing cultural change is significant for my own project in considering how the interaction within the tourist industry between local people and tourists from around the world can be influential in the ways local people shape their representations of themselves for a tourist audience.

Taking it a step further, some indigenous tourism hosts are identifying ways to use tourism to their advantage. Bunten (2010) explains a “second wave” of indigenous tourism based on her research in Alaska and New Zealand, where indigenous tourism owners want to rethink the representations produced in tourism and put their value systems ahead of the tourist dollar. Bunten explains that it is these value systems that differentiate the indigenous businesses from the non-indigenous. She states that profitability is not always measured in dollars, but can also come through political power and future possibilities, such as cultural perpetuation and educating tourists (p. 296). In this way, indigenous people have the potential to use the tourism industry as a significant space for putting forward representations that emphasize values that are important

to them.

This section has focused on the ways scholars have been analyzing the ways art and tourism are significant within culture and identity, but none have focused on the ways Aboriginal art and culture are used to negotiate identity in Australian tourism. However, researchers have written about Aboriginal art with other foci. The majority of work on Aboriginal art is about the Papunya settlement, and the first group of male artists at this site who called themselves the Papunya Tula. Research focusing on this topic includes the history of the settlement, with descriptions of the artists' work in the early days at Papunya in connection to their language groups (Bardon, 1991), or as a historical record of several generations of Papunya Tula artists (Johnson, 2008). Scholars have also focused on the ways the Aboriginal people's "Dreamings" influenced and produced the subject matter of the paintings (Bardon, 1991; Bardon & Bardon, 2004; Myers, 2002), but also how these paintings changed due to the white man's dispossession of the Aboriginal people (Bardon & Bardon, 2004). Myers (2002) analyzed the ways the producers, distributors and sellers of Aboriginal art have each played a role in the circulation, de-contextualization and commoditization of the art. While these studies do not have a tourism focus, these scholarly works provide a background and history to the Aboriginal art movement, and illustrate the notoriety of Aboriginal art both nationally and globally.

Identity Narratives

Similar to what I discussed in the host section above, concepts of identity are significant to my own study where various hosts mediate narratives that are highly scripted and entertaining within the tourism industry; those narratives carry the hosts' own interests and values, and demonstrate how they see themselves in their own community. Following Hall (1996a), I utilize

the concept of identity with the understanding that there are many points of similarity between people, but history and culture position individuals in diverse ways. A shared place does not dictate a shared or collective identity. Hall's (1996b) discussion of "identification" is also key in examining the communication of identities, where the process of identification is a "construction, a process never completed" (p. 2). He explains that sustaining a connection to identity is a symbolic process, where one is continually fluctuating between part of the in-group or out-group and establishing boundaries of difference (Hall, 1996b, p. 3).

Australia is a significant site to examine the symbolic positioning of identity/ies at play due to the history and tensions constructed around an Australian identity. Scholars have identified several conflicting interpretations of Australian identity. There have been disputes as to whether there is a national identity, and whether this national presentation should be shaped and defined by the government or left alone (Stokes, 1997). Historically, this conflict coincided with disputes over whether indigenous Aboriginals were included in this national identity, or whether or not Australians were supportive of the monarchy (Stokes, 1997). Tensions about "Australian" identity have also evolved around European Australian and Aboriginal Australian issues. In the past, for Europeans, Aboriginal people were representative of "being Australian," alongside the country's unique plants and animals (White, 1991). As European settlers came to Australia, the indigenous people became more and more dispossessed with "their image no longer representative of Australia except as garden ornaments in suburban backyards and ashtrays in souvenir shops" (White, 1991, p. 15). Scholars have also emphasized differences between European Australians and Aboriginal people, such as variances in beliefs, values and connection to the land (Rose, 1996), and relationships of dominance and oppression in colonial and contemporary times (Broome, 1994). Australia is an exceptional location for this study in

that Australian identities are still a major part of the public debate. One example is as recent as 2012, where the Australian Senate extended the race-based law in the Northern Territory, which affects the land rights of more than 70 indigenous communities with 5-year leases, bans “unsupervised” community meetings, and permits the military to maintain a presence in these areas (Intercontinental Cry, 2012, p. 22). The boundaries of difference are very much still at work in Australia, and this is significant for my research in considering the ways hosts negotiate Australian identity for the tourism industry.

I am not approaching this project in search of an “authentic” Australian or Aboriginal self to be realized, but rather with the assumption that identity (re)presentation is understood through communication. In other words, the hosts’ identity construction and staging may be negotiated by the individual for the purposes of the tourism industry, but the performance may or may not be in line with the individual’s own beliefs. To be clear, I am not interested in examining whether the hosts’ scripts are a projection of their true beliefs, but want to acknowledge that these connections to identity may be different. I am interested in what is actually communicated, as this is what informs tourists and outsiders of Australian identity. I am intrigued by the ways identity is negotiated in a space where, on one hand the local people are meant to communicate with and entertain tourists. On the other hand, the local people are situated politically, racially, historically and culturally in extremely diverse situations, which may call for hosts to symbolically connect to or exclude themselves from shared group identity/ies (e.g., what is Australian? Aboriginal? etc.). In other words, when presenting Australian identity for tourists, the ways that non-Aboriginal Australians or Aboriginal Australians present Aboriginal art may be telling as to the ways in-grouping, out-grouping and difference are negotiated within the larger Australian national identity. As Hall (1996b) states, “Identities are... constituted within,

not outside representation” (p. 4), and the hosts (re)produce representations through their narratives.

Scholars who incorporate identity narratives have done so through a variety of perspectives, from social psychological, social constructivist, ethnomethodological or conversational analysis (c.f. De Fina, 2003). According to De Fina (2003), the Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis methods see identity as emerging through interaction and communication, and this interaction constitutes "performance" (p. 17). The very act of presenting identity/ies through communication is dialectical and shaped through the interaction with others. While individuals are often thought of as having identity existing “inside” of them, the individual becomes part of the social, collective identity by “positioning” themselves (De Fina, 2003, p. 17) through communication and the ways people perform identity.

Scholars view the ways people “do,” utilize, display or negotiate social interactions as a means of identity performance (J. Butler, 1993; Carbaugh, 1996). Butler (1993) discusses gender as performative in how it is reiterated within hegemonic (and heterosexual) norms; this is not a matter of complete selection and agency, but a reiteration that takes place due to the discourses and social norms (re)produced in society. For my own project analyzing a post-colonial tourism destination, identity performance produced through ideologies and socially accepted norms is important where hosts are acting between their own personal experiences and values and the hegemonic industry of tourism. By shifting the focus away from the biological and psychological aspects of identity, I take a “cultural pragmatic approach” to understanding identity, where identities are “something created and subjected to particular conversational dynamics” (Carbaugh, 1996, pp. 23–4) through situated communication, the context of the interactions, and the performance of discourse.

Like Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) political economy of showing, I see this analysis of hosts' self-representation as a political economy of telling. For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), a significant part of the display or representation is the *agency*: "display not only shows and speaks, it also *does*" (p. 6). Therefore, the agent's representations (visual, textual or verbal) are not necessarily the only forms of significance, but also the *act* of representing; the display (or performance) produces meaning or ideologies. Similarly, when hosts represent their identity through a variety of modes, such as images, signage, exhibition of art and interaction in a tourism space, they do more than show and speak; they produce meaning and ideologies from their own perspective.

One critique of identity narratives in research encounters and interviews is that individuals are not presenting their "authentic selves" and may be holding back (Mishler, 1999). In my project, I argue that what is important is what is communicated in tourism contexts with outsiders, as that is where meaning is produced; for example, it is what hosts share with outsiders that constructs and represents people and their culture. In addition, the ways hosts represent and perform identity within tourism can be seen as ways that connect (or separate) them from other social identities. An example may be hosts speaking of Aboriginal art as connected to regional or spiritual significance, which may communicatively separate Aboriginal people from a larger national representation of identity. These discursive representations are important to my research in understanding the ways these narratives are presented through Aboriginal art.

Research Design and Analytical Framework

My research is framed by concepts and methods drawn from critical discourse studies

and ethnography.¹⁵ This research is thus focused around communication and actions with an emphasis on Aboriginal culture. While this project is situated in the context of Australian Aboriginal tourism, the emphasis and focus is on the micro-level discursive practices (visual and linguistic) being used to describe a place, the culture, and the people, and how these patterns of representation manifest and create a dominant discourse (or ideology or mythology). Throughout this dissertation, I refer to discourse both in the sociolinguistic sense (i.e. language in use - acts of representation), and in the Foucauldian sense (i.e. discourse as social practice - discursive formations). Fairclough (2003) explains critical discourse analysis by noting that “no real understanding of the social effects of discourse is possible without looking closely at what happens when people talk or write” (p. 3). Likewise, van Leeuwen (2005) writes that “the term ‘discourse’ is often used to denote an extended stretch of connected speech or writing, a ‘text’” (p. 94). In both of these statements, *discourse* here refers to the “micro” form of actual language (i.e. written texts, spoken talk, etc.) and the visual images (i.e. photos, drawings, maps, etc.) that are used to construct and manifest larger “orders of discourse” and ideologies. In this way, discourse is utilized and combined in different contexts, or in various social practices, to produce representations that project meaning that often becomes “naturalized” as societal “myths” (Barthes, 1972). Fairclough (2003) refers to this as “orders of discourse,” and van Leeuwen (2005) builds on Foucault’s (1977, 2002) *discourses* which refers to “socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 94). These two ways of thinking about discourse(s) are dialectical: the “micro” (i.e. language and images) produce and shape larger “macro” discourses (i.e. ideologies, myths), but the larger discourses also uphold and reinscribe dominant representations constructed in the text. With this in mind, my research is not

¹⁵ Portions of this section can also be seen in Mroczek (2009).

meant to make any claims about the “correct” discursive constructions or definitions of Australian identity, Aboriginal Australians, or their culture, but rather to explore the kinds of messages produced and reproduced within its mainstream tourism industry.

This study is framed theoretically and methodologically as a critical discourse analysis, requiring the collection and analysis of a variety of discourse data (spoken, written, visual, spatial, etc.) in the context of the social practices of which they are a part. I have collected data through two phases: the first focuses on the dominant tourism discourses on websites created by Tourism Australia and its affiliates; and the second focuses on the local hosts’ or guides’ discourses during tours and interviews. The first phase was collected from my home in Seattle, Washington where Australia’s tourism websites were archived. The second phase was collected on my trip to Australia, which I visited from June through August 2013. Data was collected through first-hand, ethnographic procedures and participant observation, and included: field notes, photographs, brochures, and recordings of interviews. Due to the differences of data collection between the phases, the data itself takes slightly different forms and my methods of collection are outlined in each section below.

I have discussed the ways that I conceptualize the concept of “culture” through this dissertation project, but it is also necessary to explain how I defined culture in the collection of my data and the planning of my fieldwork. For the purposes of this study, my reference to and search for Australian Aboriginal art and culture included anything from paintings, weaving, tool making, carvings, dance, music, storytelling and anything that is meant to copy these cultural objects or performances for the purposes of tourism. My understanding of “Aboriginal culture” is only through the narratives given by others. In other words, if tour-marketing materials state that I will learn about Australian Aboriginal culture, then the narratives on that tour will shape my

ideas of how culture is defined for that particular tour. If the Australian Tourism Authority calls something Aboriginal art on its website, then that quote would be noted as connecting to my topic. My study does not seek to define what is Aboriginal art or culture, as focusing on culture over the narrative emphasizes an over-simplification of group belongingness (i.e. ethnicity, race, nation) (Scollon & Scollon, 2015). Instead, I consider how narratives around Aboriginal art and culture actually tell us something about the identity of Australian Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. By looking at tours that focus on Aboriginal art more generally, I assess the representations that are exhibited for the majority of tourists to Australia. In addition, I examine not only the global and local influences on identity narratives, but the ways art can mediate narratives of in-grouping and out-grouping, and illustrate how agency influences representations.

Before I move on with an explanation of my first phases of data collection and analysis, I provide a brief overview of Tourism Australia and its structure.

Australia's Tourism Industry's Structure: A top-down, one-voice structure

Tourism Australia (TA) is the Federal Government Tourism Authority responsible for marketing Australia's tourism sector both globally and domestically. TA has offices in "Auckland, London, Frankfurt, Los Angeles, Tokyo, Seoul, Hong Kong, China (Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou and Chengdu), Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Mumbai, plus representative offices in France, Italy, Brazil and Canada" (Tourism Australia, 2013, p. 11), with their global headquarters based in Sydney. Their website, Australia.com, is their primary global consumer marketing campaign translated into 17 languages. The website generates "more than eight million unique users each year" (Tourism Australia, 2013, p. 17). Tourism in Australia is its number one services export, and the long range plan is to increase overnight spending from A\$70

billion in 2009 to A\$115 billion - A\$140 billion annually by 2020 (Tourism Australia, 2013, p. 4). It is a significant industry that clearly has a far-reaching marketing plan to bring in tourists from around the globe.

Tourism Australia is the umbrella tourism authority that all state, regional and local tourism sectors operate under. The 2020 plan has been endorsed by all States and Territories (Tourism Australia, 2013, p. 4), and the marketing of the nation and the regions takes "a 'one voice' approach to marketing Australia to consumers across all international markets" (Tourism Australia, 2013, p. 7). This type of one voice marketing is a common method among corporations who are strategically managing their corporate image and public message. The corporate approach to globally marketing tourism for a country, its regions and Territories is an interesting tactic to ensure a united image and narrative to promote Australia.

To assist in keeping the tourism industry abreast of campaigns and tourism industry statistics, Tourism Australia also has a corporate website, www.tourism.australia.com. This area is directed towards tourism professionals and provides reports, market updates and forecasts, partnership information and tourism news. There is also information on upcoming events, particularly those pertaining to domestic and international travel agents. Within this site, tourism professionals may also access campaign tools, image and video banks and logos for tourism promoters to use to follow the standards set by Tourism Australia.

Tourism Australia has collaborated with Indigenous Business Australia to create the Indigenous Tourism Champions Program (ITCP) (Tourism Australia Corporate, 2013). In order for an Aboriginal person or group to participate in ITCP, their Aboriginal tourism related "business must be nominated by their State Tourism Organization and then meet the stringent criteria of membership" (Tourism Australia Corporate, 2013, para. 2). Once the business has

been approved, the ITCP will market these “export-ready” businesses at tourism trade events and in promotional materials. Tourism Australia refers to these businesses as the “Champions.”

Those businesses that are promising candidates to participate in the ITCP can receive marketing support through the “State and Territory Tourism Organizations, and in some cases a specialist mentor to assist with growing their businesses to a standard where they meet the criteria for entry into the ITCP” (Tourism Australia Corporate, 2013, para. 5). The ITCP plays the role of a connector which:

...will build confidence among the distribution network that sells Australian Indigenous cultural experiences, that small business operators and indigenous tourism operators in particular, are reliable business partners with strong and unique industry knowledge (Indigenous Business Australia, n.d., para. 6).

The program presents itself as a resource to train and fund Aboriginal people who want to participate in tourism, but it also emphasizes a particular standard that is set by ITCP. Just as Tourism Australia provides the dominant voice and representations for Australia, it also acts as a gatekeeper in standardizing the Aboriginal-led tourism industry that is marketed internationally. As a side note, the information about the ITCP is located on the Tourism Australia corporate website and directed towards other tourism professionals, in which potential tourists would most likely not be interested. Aboriginal cultural tours are listed on Tourism Australia’s primary website, but without an explicit statement of the membership in the ITCP. We can just assume that due to the qualification requirements, any business listed on the Tourism Australia page has passed this evaluation. The other way to find out about the Champions is to contact an “Aussie Specialist” who is a travel agent who specializes in the various categories of tourist interests. Therefore, this “behind-the-scenes” circuit of training and marketing is shared between the professional networks of tourism professionals. This is a noteworthy process that foregrounds some Aboriginal businesses (i.e. those in the ITCP) over others. The Aboriginal people need to

be interested and willing to partner with the dominant tourism authority in order to have their business(es) highlighted and marketed to a wider audience, unless the business owner has the financial means themselves.

First Phase of Data Collection

The first set of data collection focused on the dominant narratives in tourism, and how discourse produces and constructs knowledge (Foucault, 1980), as well as influencing ways people understand each other and their own place in society. This section focuses on Australia's official tourism website (Australia.com) and its affiliates' websites. The criteria for the website collections were that it was affiliated with Australia's government tourism authority, and that it was a region of Australia to which I planned to travel. I did not include private tourism businesses' websites as my focus is on the governmental framing of Australia, and representations that have a global audience. For Australia.com, I included the fifteen English versions of the website to recognize whether Tourism Australia produced variations of Aboriginal identity or culture for different audiences around the globe.

The planning phase for my fieldwork began by viewing and reviewing the main Tourism Australia website. By looking in detail at the websites prior to making my travel plans to Australia, I could maximize my time in the geographical locations that highlighted the most access to Aboriginal culture and the corresponding tours.

Around this same time, my undergraduate research assistant captured the Australian tourism websites for me using SnagIt. SnagIt allowed us to capture scrolling web pages, as well as music or moving images. The focus has been on saving the home page, and then capturing one page off of each link leading from the home page. For example, if the home page had a menu bar

with several links listed off of each menu item, our goal was to make sure that each of those links on the menu would be captured. The sites were saved as JPG or PDFs in a scrolling format, and named by the website and the menu title. This was done for each Tourism Authority territory website that I was planning on including in my travels.

As I've mentioned above, the Tourism Australia main website (Australia.com) has fifteen English versions of the site. By comparing and analyzing the fifteen versions, I was able to understand: first, the dominant Australian identity narrative produced through images and text that is circulated globally for tourism; and second, whether there are similarities or differences between the different English versions. This orderly structure and comparison enabled me to see whether there is one dominant narrative circulating globally or different ones directed towards different potential tourists' countries. Interestingly, the only significant differences between the various English versions were pages that promoted specific campaigns, such as a "work abroad" promotion directed towards students in the United Kingdom.

Second Phase of Data Collection in Australia

The second phase of collecting data was on my trip to Australia, which I visited for approximately six weeks. My website research led me to some primary areas of focus for my trip to learn about Aboriginal art and culture. Alice Springs and the Red Center were the areas primarily highlighted for Aboriginal art, and later I was told that Perth was also a prominent area. The areas I decided to travel to included Alice Springs, Uluru (Ayers Rock), Adelaide and Perth. While Sydney was not a main focus on my Aboriginal art tours, it did end up becoming part of my fieldwork. It began as a place to land in Australia and get my bearings or get through my jet lag. I ended up going on an Aboriginal tour in the city, and also had the opportunity to learn a bit

more about Tourism Australia. Canberra was another stop on my journey, and was mainly used to understand more context of indigenous art through the national museum.

Prior to leaving for Australia, I attempted to plan as many of the tours as possible. My goal was to book tours that were owned and operated by Australian Aboriginal people, or were led by an Aboriginal tour guide. This task brought about many frustrations and confusion before I ever arrived in the country. I began by utilizing the Indigenous Champions list on the Tourism Australia website to book the tours, and then I gradually branched out to general internet searches. My search terms included Aboriginal art, Aboriginal culture, or Aboriginal experiences. As I found tours that worked with my criteria, I had a great deal of difficulty contacting and reserving the events. I often found outdated websites, returned email requests, and even people answering the phone telling me that they were no longer doing those tours. There was also one who only did their camping tour for cruise ship groups. I told my experiences to an Australia travel agent and a couple of my hosts in Australia. I heard comments such as “this is one of the issues with Aboriginal businesses,” “it’s common that they begin to make money and spend it, but are unable to continue running the business,” or “we have had groups that the tour guide just never shows up.” While this originally made me nervous about the dissertation project I had chosen, it also is an important preview of what my experiences had in store for me during my fieldwork. This experience is an important bit of background information for this dissertation project, and will be returned to later.

Ultimately, I was able to book eight tours prior to leaving the United States, and learned of others during my travels. I maintained the same goals of hoping to find as many tours led by Australian indigenous people, but I realized that I needed to broaden my search to include tours that focused on or included themes on Aboriginal art, culture or Aboriginal experiences, while

allowing that guides may be from anywhere. The eight tours pre-reserved included a range of events from dot painting workshops to a three day “4 wheel drive MacDonnell Kangaroo Dreaming Safari”¹⁶, also known as camping in the Bush under the stars. There are several other cultural tours that I was able to reserve once I was in Australia. Overall, the tours were owned and operated by a broad range of individuals or corporations, and the guides included Australian Aboriginals, non-indigenous Australians, and even the occasional non-Australian. This gave me a broad range of narratives to contribute to my study.

While I was in Australia, data was collected through first-hand, ethnographic procedures and participant observation. Both interviews and participant observation allowed me to collect a rich variety of material and information. The types of data gathered through these different activities are multi-modal and range from printed materials to photographs, voice recordings and field notes.

An advantage of being a participant observer is that it reduces the issue of “reactivity,” which means that people will carry on with their usual routine without being influenced by the researcher’s presence (Bernard, 2006, p. 354). Participant observation has allowed me to act as a tourist in the tourist destination. Participant observation also allows me first-hand experience at the sites and interaction with employees as well as other tourists (Creswell, 2009, p. 179). This method contributes to my data by enabling me to engage in conversation suitable for the tourism situation, and it “extends both the internal and the external validity of what [I] learn from interviewing and watching people” (Creswell, 2009, p. 355). In other words, participant observation produces data that are complementary to interviews and to the visual/textual materials I have collected, which enables me to approach multiple angles of how identity is

¹⁶ The names of businesses and individuals have been changed to protect their privacy.

communicated.

As a participant observer, I have collected brochures and cards, taken photos and/or video when permitted, purchased postcards of the locations, and taken notes. I utilized guiding questions to assist me in recognizing communication and performances that would enable me to answer my research questions. I use these same guiding questions when approaching my website data. Considering these same questions enabled me to compare the tour narratives with those of the website. In addition, these guiding questions narrow my focus within the tour and really emphasize the ways that culture is used to negotiate identity. As a participant observer throughout these sites, I looked for opportunities to find additional interviewees; however, I only approached potential interviewees after my initial observation was complete.

I always carried a journal with me to take notes, a recorder to capture interviews or other events that were recordable, and a camera. Besides the excessive notes I was taking, I was literally a tourist, experiencing Australia as a tourist, seeking out experiences that focused on Aboriginal art and culture. I tried to stop and take notes every couple of hours, or as soon as was possible after a tour or gallery/souvenir shop experience. On longer day or overnight journeys, I would write notes while on the bus. The handwritten notes would get typed up each evening that I made it back to my accommodations and computer, so it was fairly easy to remember the details in case my writing on the go wasn't always the clearest. My plan was to go on tours as many times as my schedule and budget allowed during my six-week stay. In this part of my data collection and analysis, I have focused on how regional narratives in tourism represent Aboriginal art and culture by either perpetuating the websites' global representations or interjecting alternative ways of imagining Australian identity.

My photos were always focused on the host or tour guide, or the subjects being viewed or

discussed. For example, photos of the guide during a tour were acceptable, or of the Aboriginal art or artifacts they were discussing. All of my photos were uploaded to my laptop each night. It was not my aim to photograph any of the tourists, as they are not a direct focus of this study. In addition to offering privacy to tourists, I rarely took pictures of the Aboriginal artists or indigenous people who were not an active part of my conversation. For example, during a tour of a gallery's art studio, there was an Aboriginal man sitting on the floor painting, while eating the spaghetti breakfast the gallery owner had provided for him. Most of my time in the studio was standing and watching the people come in and out, the other workers stretching canvases, and occasionally having the opportunity to ask the owner questions about the process and compensation of the Aboriginal art. The Aboriginal man did not speak English, so he was not a participant in our conversation, nor could we communicate for me to ask his permission to take his photo. I did my best to respect the privacy of people in the places that I visited.

For my interviews within Australia, I was able to meet with a variety of professionals. My interviewees were scheduled both before and during my trip. Before I arrived in Australia, I made several email contacts and scheduled appointments at that time. I generally asked for a thirty-minute meeting, but many people gave me more of their time. Other interviewees were learned about while I was traveling. I was informed of potential leads of professionals who may be helpful for my project through conversations with tourism professionals, gallery owners, tour guides, or even other graduate students who were working on their own research. I would then email or call the potential interviewee to schedule meetings. This procedure worked well for me, and I was often able to book appointments with people while I was staying at a particular destination, or for future travel stopping points.

I was able to conduct six formal interviews during my time in Australia. I also garnered

information through informal conversations or light interviews during my tours or meeting people in the day-to-day life. Through these interviews I was able to learn information about behind the scenes decision-making and processes or the history of a particular campaign or tour. These interviews are necessary as I would not be able to observe or access many of these “behind the scenes” situations in other ways besides interviews (Creswell, 2009, p. 179), which potentially gives me another perspective to the ways identity and perceptions of Aboriginal art are managed and scripted from the top-down. Of course, one downfall of interviewing professionals working within the tourism industry is that their answers may be filtered or skewed because of the connection to their workplace (Creswell, 2009, p. 179).

When I arrived at each interview I provided each interviewee with a printed page about my project, as well as a form that each person could sign if they wanted me to use their name in my work. Due to the fact that this project takes place in the public tourism environment, and the people I interviewed were professionals in tourism or art, the University of Washington Human Subjects Board considered this project exempt, meaning this project has a minimal risk or impact to those participating in it. Therefore, the information I provided each interviewee was to ensure them of my project details, provide them my and my chair’s contact information, and let them know where and how I would be using the information from our conversation.

Prior to each interview, I asked permission to record the conversation (voice recording only without video). Every interviewee was in agreement to my recording. All of my interviews were semi-structured where I had specific topics to cover with each of my interviewees, but the structure was open enough that I could probe any leads that the interviewee may have discussed (Bernard, 2006). This allowed me to use my time wisely, make sure I covered the areas I needed to cover, and have flexibility to learn of new areas if one arose. I produced some guiding

questions to direct the topic of interviews. This allowed me to maintain a focus within interviews so I could have a considerable amount of information to answer my research questions about the role of Aboriginal art and culture in negotiating identity.

I took notes during our conversation, as well as wrote down any additional questions that came to mind. Some interviewees also provided me with printed material about their own work or organization, so I was able to collect complementary printed materials during this time. As I collected information, I organized it by these guiding question categories in a similar manner as the websites and the tours. As in my tour experiences, when I wrote notes, I recorded them in a journal to transfer to my laptop as soon as time permitted. Then, I was able to sort them by these question categories to recognize dominant patterns (Fetterman, 1989, p. 75). Coding in this way will allow me to keep a large amount of material manageable and organized (Fetterman, 1989, p. 99). After gathering valuable data, Fetterman (1989) explains that the ethnographer “must then cross- check, compare, and triangulate this information before it becomes a foundation on which to build a knowledge base” (p. 19). This allows the researcher to clearly identify what patterns may already be seen or what questions remain to be asked. Reading through and organizing the data is critical before leaving the field, so that writing notes after returning home will be more comprehensive and clear. Most of my informants also invited me to contact them once I returned to Seattle with any follow up questions, and some have also asked to read my research once it is complete.

Analytical Framework: Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Semiotics

I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze Tourism Australia and Australian hosts’ representations of identity within the tourism industry. My initial goal was to recognize

the dominant visual and linguistic representations across the tourism websites. This information has become a useful dataset to allow me to recognize the common portrayals of Aboriginal people and their culture, and to provide a point of comparison for the narratives and representatives used “on the ground” in Australia by local hosts. To understand and analyze the patterns in the “micro” discourses (i.e. language and visual images), the significance and meaning-making abilities of discourse must be understood.

For discourse analysts, the focus is on the “micro” processes and how they relate to the “macro” context (Blommaert, 2005). CDA is an approach that looks for patterns or recurring themes in linguistic and visual communication, and examines how that discourse creates “ideological significance” (Cameron, 2001, p. 51). Fairclough (2003) explains discourse analysis stemming from detailed linguistic analysis, and there is a “focus on specific texts and a focus on... the ‘order of discourse’, the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices” (p. 3). For Fairclough, the discourse analyst looks specifically at written or spoken words (or visual images) – what is said or the “micro” – and then zooms out to the larger “macro” social effects or influences. More specifically, Fairclough discusses “internal” relationships within a text, such as semantic, grammatical, lexical and phonological, and “external” relations to social events and to social practices and structures (Fairclough, 2003, p. 38). Fairclough’s approach to discourse is helpful in considering the “macro” ideologies at play in the communication of identity through Aboriginal art.

While Fairclough’s (2003) explanations emphasize the linguistic thread that runs through critical discourse analysis, it is important to point out that it is only one point of examination in the larger CDA approach. Blommaert (2005) clearly states that CDA goes beyond a critical study

of language, and has “done much to re-open the issue of how studies of language can, and should be studies of society” (p. 6). CDA arises out of many types of attempts to critically examine language in connection to culture and society, and Blommaert details significant trajectories through American linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2005). Both linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics have looked to the larger issues of inequality and differences. Jaworski and Coupland (1999) state “Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also shaping social order, and shaping individuals’ interaction with society” (p. 3). Language does not only reflect knowledge and ideology, but it has the ability to produce and influence outcomes. The narratives and representations portrayed throughout my three sites—non-indigenous Australian tours, Aboriginal Australian tours, and the official tourism website—need to be placed in the context of tourism to understand the roles the representations play in the global circulation of Aboriginal identity.

Social Semiotics.

I also aim to understand visual culture in *practice*, which is the key element defining social semiotics (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explain that the visual, like linguistics, creates a system, or a “grammar” where “resources” replace “code” (a linguistic term), and create a system of representation through the *interaction* of the signifier and signified (slightly different from Barthes view). Semiotic resources include “actions, materials and artefacts” used for communication, and can be produced with our bodies (e.g., voice or mannerism of walking) or other technologies (e.g., computer or paint) (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 285). For understanding potentials of meaning, Kress and van Leeuwen have incorporated linguistic theories in ways that are relevant for visual (and other modes) of semiotics, exchanging

concepts of Halliday's *metafunctions* from ideational to *representational*, interpersonal to *interactional*, and textual to *compositional* (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 140). The *representational* refers to how objects are presented as relating to other objects and processes (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 42). The *interactional* is the representation of the relations between the producer of the sign and the receiver/reproducer of the sign (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 42), for example whether the image looks directly at the viewer (*demand gaze*) or to the side (*offer*). And the *compositional* is how the text is formed through internal and external contexts (e.g., layout on page, or "composition" in van Leeuwen, 2005) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 43). Jewitt and Oyama (2001) also state that the compositional "brings together the individual bits of representation-and-interaction into the kind of wholes we recognize..." (p. 140). Social semiotics presents practical methods for treating semiotic resources, their contexts and practices as significant forms of communication.

The social semiotic approach relies on the *semiotic landscape* which combines "language" and "context," where language (image or text) must be understandable to others, as well as the connection between the representation and its meaning (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 35). A significant element to Kress and van Leeuwen's approach to studying semiotics is that signs are never arbitrary, but motivated to have particular meanings by the "sign-maker." This resembles Cultural Studies approaches, as it goes beyond the cultural context of understanding *meaning* to incorporate the additional layer of the producer of the sign; the producer is a critical and *agent-ful* resource contributing to the meaning, as the sign "aris[es] out of the cultural, social and psychological history of the sign-maker" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 7). Overall, social semiotics theory and method expand the textual nature of research to one that acknowledges visual communication as significant in its own right, as it is (re)produced and circulated,

contributing to dominant ideologies and practices.

I combine CDA and semiotic methods to analyze the data from the website, participant observation and interviews. By processing the data in this way, I am able to find recurring themes across the dataset. This has enabled me to compare and contrast the information and identify the ways these narratives produce “micro” meanings, but operate at a “macro” scale. This process of analysis is significant for my own research questions, as these methods have enabled me to recognize recurring patterns or differences in the ways tourism hosts utilize Aboriginal culture to mediate their own identity narratives within tourism spaces. Language exposes difference and othering; privileges some voices while leaving out others; or makes assumptions about values (Fairclough, 2003). A close examination of a text can assist in understanding its meaning in a deeper way, and its possible multiple meanings. Fairclough (2003) describes how texts are in dialogue with other texts, and so the context plays a large role in the specific meanings that are connected. The types of power presented through discourse may be exposed when multiple texts are closely examined and compared.

Bringing It All Together

After returning from my fieldwork in Australia, I spent a good deal of time reading through each of the websites and noticing themes or repetitive phrases that explained Aboriginal art, Aboriginal culture, Australian culture and histories of people. I have utilized guiding questions to help me code this material within an Excel spreadsheet. This is where I was able to begin to recognize those recurring themes. I then read closely over the websites and began a quantitative approach to the material. If there were a mention of Aboriginal art, I would enter a number one under the Aboriginal art column. As I noticed other repetitive themes, I would add

new columns to include in the counting. When another quote mentioned Aboriginal art, the one would be changed to a “2.” I continued this through all of the website pages until I could visually see in a quantitative representation where dominant themes were emerging.

This is not meant to be a quantitative study, but this is a straightforward way to recognize themes that are recurring when dealing with a large amount of data. For example, once archived and printed, the Tourism Australia (Australia.com) website was 224 pages (not including background images printed separately); Western Australia (westernaustralia.com) was 59 pages; Australia’s Outback (travelnt.com) was 104 pages; South Australia (sa.gov.au) was 113 pages; and Aboriginal Australia (tourism.australia.com/aboriginal/) was 57 pages. I have continued this same approach with my field notes, and my other materials.

After physically seeing patterns across my data, I have selected the most prominent of the recurring categories that have emerged. From there, I organized all of the quotes and representational discourse that fell under these categories. This way I could view all of the discursive representations relating to Aboriginal art, or Cultural performance, or Nationalism, etc. together. From this, I understand how the discourse “in use” creates meaning in the larger context of identity. In this way I can identify prominent texts and images used to present Aboriginal art and culture, and consider them in the context in which they occurred. As Lindlof and Taylor (2002) say, “interpretation involves the translation of an object of analysis from one frame of meaning into another” (p. 232). In other words, once the predominant patterns are identified, I examine how each host (i.e. Government tourism authority through websites, guide through tours, etc.) uses that discourse (i.e., spoken or written text, images, etc.) in context (e.g., formatting, performance, etc.), and I can recognize the various layers of communication used to create meaning. More importantly, I am able to understand some of the larger social and

ideological perspectives through the various narratives, and ultimately, consider the ways cultural objects may facilitate identity representations.

Analyzing discourse used within a genre can help to expose some of the underlying ways that it gets taken up and used to create, (re)produce, and perpetuate meaning—through methods such as representation, knowledge, or creating differences. In sum, critical discourse analysis is an appropriate method for me to understand how the “micro” discursive resources produce and manifest the “macro” social understandings and ideologies, which are continually perpetuated and taken up in society, and (re)produce and perpetuate inequalities.

Positioning Myself in the Study

As a white female, who has formerly worked in the tourism industry, and is studying for a Ph.D., I recognize that I have privileges that have provided me access to areas of the tourism industry relevant for this particular study. Through the literature I have outlined here, and my use of quoting Aboriginal guides in the following chapters, I hope that I have demonstrated my own understanding of the significance for Aboriginal people to speak for themselves, and not be defined by the white academic writing about “Other.” I acknowledge the fact that I reference many white academics throughout this project, and have worked to incorporate indigenous scholars, either from Australia or elsewhere, and indigenous voices as they presented themselves throughout my fieldwork.

I had not ever visited Australia prior to my fieldwork there, so I truly approached this study as a complete outsider looking in. Many studies have focused on tourists, the types of tourists and why they travel (cf. Bauman, 1996, 1998; Cohen, 1979; Franklin, 2003a; Jack & Phipps, 2005; MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990), but only recently have scholars focused on how

the “host” culture may interject in the dominant tourism industry. My interest in focusing on “hosts” also stems from my own experience working in the tourism industry, where cultural mediators produce narratives to create their own representations for a tourism audience. I analyze how hosts, particularly marginalized hosts, find or create a space to put forward cultural identities that are significant for them to share with outsiders. By analyzing the “host” side of tourism, researchers can expose the power differentials that enable some representations to overcome others. My aim in this project is to focus on the representations present across Australia’s cultural tourism industry, and let those discourses stand for themselves, whether it is produced on a government website, or spoken by a local guide.

Chapter 3

Commodification at the Cultural Borderzones: Appropriating Aboriginal Culture in Response to Tourism Imaginaries

“Aboriginal culture is able to provide Australia with a ‘unique selling point’ as [a] tourist destination abroad. In the branding of Australia as a travel destination, the Dreaming...serves as an enticing trope” (Tonnaer, 2008, p. v).

In Australia, Aboriginal culture has been appropriated as a focus of cultural tourism, and Aboriginal spiritual beliefs and practices have come to symbolize Aboriginal culture and seduce tourists to buy the Australian brand (Tonnaer, 2008). The commonly recognized, globally circulated Aboriginal art is a visual depiction of the spiritual belief system commonly referred to as the “Dreamtime.” The “Dreamings” or “Dreamtime” is the period where the Aboriginal ancestors traveled the land comprising their stories about the creation of the natural world (cf. Bardon, 1991; Bourke, Bourke, & Edwards, 1998). Dreamtime also relates to the ancestors’ establishment of the code of life or The Law (cf. Bourke et al., 1998; S. Morgan, 1995). The Aboriginal law is related to land in that the stories are “specifically associated with and applies to [the] particular country” of Aboriginal people¹⁷ (Rose, 1996, p. 31). This spirituality is represented visually, verbally and musically¹⁸ through Aboriginal arts, crafts and cultural practices, which then provide a significant record of tradition to pass on to future generations. The Dreamtime spirituality and creation stories are inseparable from Aboriginal art and culture. In this chapter, I demonstrate the ways that Aboriginal culture and “The Dreamtime” are produced and commodified as part of the tourism imaginary by Tourism Australia and by the guides in Australia, and how these various tourism stakeholders perform or dismiss those imaginaries. Tourism Australia appropriates the spiritual belief of the Dreamtime, offers tourists

¹⁷ Each Aboriginal group is the caretaker for their particular country, meaning the area of land that they live and travel through and which their ancestral stories are related.

¹⁸ See also (Chatwin & Stewart, 2012)

the ability to “become Aboriginal,” and emphasizes Aboriginal people as the link to “culture.” On the other hand, the local hosts in Australia make corrections to the dominant representations of the “Dreamtime” as an act of resistance while simultaneously reinstating local Aboriginal language. They also use Aboriginal culture as a means to demonstrate the disrespectful ways culture is appropriated, and express their frustration and request for change within the tourism environment.

I divide this chapter in three sections: one explaining the complex dialectical spaces that encourage competing host discourses and the basis of my approach to analyzing them; one focusing on the dominant tourism discourses produced by the government tourism authority, Tourism Australia, and its affiliates; and the other, examining the discourse of guides in Australia. Through these analyses I illustrate the ways that Tourism Australia’s websites invite tourists to not only participate in Australian Aboriginal culture, but also to immerse themselves in it to the fullest degree. The websites describe the limitless access and experiences with Australian Aboriginal people. In doing so, tourists are given the impression that Aboriginal people in general are associated with Australia’s tourism brand and offered for the tourists’ hosting, entertainment, and spectacle.

These dominant narratives highlight the top-down power of the Government Tourism Authority representing Australian Aboriginal culture. In discussing the dominant discourses and their power, Fairclough (1989) reminds us that “caution is necessary: people do *negotiate* their relationship to ideal subjects and this can mean keeping them at arm’s length or even engaging in outright struggle against them” (p. 54). In other words, media (here, the dominant tourism authority) can be widespread and significant, but there is still room for alternative (re)presentations and production of alternative discourses. Tourism does not take place in a

vacuum, and the actual tourism experience is an interactive, dialectic and multifaceted exchange. While the tourists arrive with their “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990), the “host gaze” (Bunten, 2013) is also at work, tangling with preconceived ideas of the visitors and their expectations. The “host gaze” is also in response to the power differential, as Bunten (2011) explains, “Just as the tourist gaze reproduces asymmetrical power relations between Western tourists and members of minority cultures on display, the tourism worker's gaze is an attempt to take back a modicum of power to define herself and have a say in her working conditions” (p. 74). When the local person performs or works in tourism, it does not automatically make them an agentless victim who is an object of tourism (Bruner, 2005; Bunten, 2008, 2010b, 2014; Stronza, 2001). Hosts utilize a “commodified persona” in order to respond to the tourism imaginaries and expectations, but also to protect their own well-being and be true to their own culture (Bunten, 2008). Therefore, I analyze the tourism industry “on the ground” to understand when there is room for local people’s interjections and points of resistance to dominant representations from the ‘bottom-up,’ which includes narratives that depart the dominant tourism industry ideals, and also that of the tourists’.

Hosts present themselves as participants in the tourism imaginary, but they also present knowledge that corrects the dominant narrative and affords them a presentation of “authenticity.” These statements are not always explicitly stated as correcting other representations of Aboriginal people and culture, but the discourses clearly part ways from those provided by Tourism Australia. In these ways this chapter supports Bunten’s (2014) statement that “There is a difference between the tourism that accommodates a perceived tourist gaze at the expense of cultural integrity and tourism that is carefully crafted to appeal to tourists while upholding local values” (pg. 95). The guides undertake a role of fulfilling expectations of the tourism industry, but also balance to protect against the appropriation of their Aboriginal culture and tradition.

Competing Host Discourses: Tourism Australia's Websites & Australian Tour Guides

By comparing the discourses between Tourism Australia websites and the tour guides in Australia, I emphasize the differences that occur between the ways places and people are marketed and (re)presented, and how they actually express themselves or self-present in the physical location or lived space. The representations I analyze in this chapter illustrate the ways discourses from varying hosts (e.g. the dominant tourism authority or the guides on the ground) do not align, focusing on two misaligned discourses: one that commodifies “the Other” as readily available for tourists to “experience,” and one that performs to the tourism imaginaries to a limited degree. Tourism Australia produces a discourse that communicates ease-of-accessibility and immersion in Aboriginal culture and spirituality. The discourses through the websites convey the tourists' ability to participate in Aboriginal Australia and to gaze on Australia's Aboriginal people and culture. In order to play a role in tourism, the guides fulfill the tourism imaginary to an extent, but also express when presentations of culture are disrespectful or incorrect.

Tourism Australia is communicating representations of identity through their tourism websites, which is globally accessible for outsiders to get an idea of what to expect of the place, culture and people before they ever arrive. These marketing materials build on the imaginary as Kahn (2003) states, “When people choose specific travel destinations, it is usually because their imaginations have already journeyed there ahead of them” (pg. 307). Lefebvre (1991) describes *l'espace conçu*, or *representations of space*, where production of space can be created by bringing together “verbal signs (words and sentences, along with the meaning invested in them by a signifying process) and non-verbal signs (music, sounds, evocations, architectural constructions” (p. 48). In relation to Tourism Australia, space is formed and produced

discursively through knowledge, representations and images (cf. Adams, 2004; Kahn, 2011; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010b), and these discourses “encourage and reproduce particular ways of seeing the world, its inhabitants and the ways in which they interact” (N. Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 47). Tourism Australia is a powerful source for potential visitors to be introduced to and understand “the Other.”

On the other hand, the actual experience may differ from preconceived ideas because it is realized in the complex space where tourists and locals or “hosts” interact. Bruner (2005) defines this space as the touristic *borderzone*, where tourists and hosts engage in a touristic transaction “for defined periods of time” (p. 17). This is the space where meaning is co-produced. He explains:

although pretour tourist sales structure the engagement, the final meaning for the tourists, locals, and producers is not given a priori but emerges in dialogic interplay during their interactions in the borderzone (p. 17).

Tourists come to the interaction with their preconceived ideas, and their “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990). The gaze is diverse and changing, and is brought about by difference, particularly the relationship to the “non-tourist forms of social experience and consciousness” (Urry, 1990, p. 1). In other words, what attracts the tourist gaze is that which differs from the tourists’ own daily life. However, the locals also gaze back at the tourists. Their gaze is also focused on differences of actions and appearances, and locals may find them “amusing, disgusting, curious or attractive” (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 23). Bunten (2013) conceptualizes the “host gaze” as being formed before hosts and guests interact (pg. 117). Hosts are aware of the representations that tourists consume, the stereotypes about locals (particularly indigenous cultures), and need to balance those expectations along with their own identities, and their need to maintain a living through their tourism work (Bunten, 2013, 2014). Importantly, just as there is not a single tourist gaze,

there is also not a single host gaze (Moufakkir & Reisinger, 2013, p. xi). These multiple gazes are also influential in shaping the dynamic and multiple narratives that are presented in the actual host/tourist *borderzone*. The hosts have the ability to be active producers in the cultural representations. As Bunten (2013) states, “The ‘tourist gaze’ is a form of power, but there is also an inherent empowerment in presenting one’s own culture for outside consumption” (pg. 121). The tourism guides in Australia, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, produce discourses that emphasize cultural differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, but also displace the dominant narratives of accessibility and the ability to impulsively participate in any Aboriginal experience.

Methods of Approaching Competing Host Discourses

Tourism Australia and its affiliates create the dominant Australian tourism discourses through Australia.com and its partners, which include territory and regional tourism agency websites. Of course, the creation and marketing in their websites is only one portion of their focus, with other areas covering global and national tourism research, international market insights, economic analysis, and tourism campaigns with a global reach. Australia.com has an international reach with “34 different country and language versions, including several different English versions” reported in 2013 (Morrison, 2013, p. 375), and drew over 14.8 million unique visitors to its website between 2013-2014 (Tourism Australia Corporate Strategy, 2014, p. 52). Clearly, it has a far-reach and a large audience to inform about Australia and its people. Tourism Australia corporate website states, “Our tourism brand conveys Australia’s unique attributes to the world” (tourism.australia.com, About Us, accessed January 30, 2016). In the following pages

I focus on the dominant themes, or these “unique attributes,” that recur through discursive representation across T.A.’s websites.

In comparison to the websites, I examine the ways that the hosts’ narratives incorporate the tourism imaginaries, while simultaneously providing a counter to the dominant representations through discourses of resistance that reject commodification. My goal for each tour that I booked was that it had a focus on Aboriginal art and/or culture. I had originally planned to reserve tours that were equally divided by whether they were Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal owned/operated and guided. I quickly realized that this was impossible to confirm due to the difficulty I had in contacting or finding spaces on Aboriginal-owned tours and the fact that tour guide businesses are not a homogenous entity. The businesses that were owned by non-Aboriginal people or corporations often hired Aboriginal guides most likely to increase the “authenticity”¹⁹ factor, but one could never know who their guide would be until the tour began. In addition, some guides worked for more than one company, so even between the guides, the types of businesses they associated with varied. Therefore, the tours that I participated in were led by diverse types of guides, partially influenced by the type of tour (e.g. camping in the bush; Aboriginal art tour; Aboriginal culinary evening). There were Europeans working on their graduate degrees; non-Aboriginal Australians who liked living in remote areas; Aboriginal people who created their own niche in tourism; Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people who believed that these tours were an influential way of teaching outsiders about indigenous cultures; and the list went on. Overall, I participated in twelve guided tours, and the quotes that I examine

¹⁹ I utilize the term “authenticity” following Bruner’s (2005) discussion of it. He removes the binary of “authentic/inauthentic” or “real/fake” and considers the tourist production and states that the meaning is dependent on the context. Lane & Waitt (2001), also following Bruner’s (2005) constructivist stance, employ “authenticity” as “a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984) that fuels a socially negotiated process in which competing interests argue for their own interpretations of place and time. In this usage, the concept of authenticity provides an avenue for understanding how certain views of place, time and culture gain more authority than others...” (p. 382).

in the second section of this chapter are taken from quotes within my personal field notes written while I was participating in these tours.

I utilize Critical Discourse Analysis to understand the dominant narratives of Aboriginal art and culture on Tourism Australia's websites and from the guides in Australia leading the tours. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach that looks for patterns or recurring themes in linguistic and visual communication, and examines *how* that discourse creates "ideological significance" (Cameron, 2001, p. 51). In finding patterns across the discursive representations, I examine the ways that discourse contributes to representations, knowledge and presentation of difference. One of the key goals of CDA is to reveal dimensions of power (abuse) and social inequality (van Dijk, 2008, p. 1). CDA investigates "what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role" in reproducing dominance (van Dijk, 1993, p. 250). van Dijk (1993) explains that the examination of dominance and power is "naturalized" within the discourses of the elite, and focuses his theory of CDA and power from a "top-down" approach. In this study I examine the top-down by analyzing Tourism Australia's websites, but I also analyze the ways that strategies of resistance or counter narratives (i.e. a "bottom-up" approach) may illustrate how that power may be challenged through the discourses of guides working in the *borderzone*.

Australian Tourism Websites: Dominant Tourism Narratives of Appropriation & Ultimate Experiences

"...the term 'cultural appropriation' refers to the processes by which meanings are transformed within specific hierarchical structures of power. It is important to note that cultural appropriation refers not just to any meanings and not to meanings taken out of their political contexts. It is the place of meanings within a structure of power—in this case, within the structures of race—that renders them into sites of struggle." (Marcus, 1997, p. 50)

The genre of tourism websites necessitates “selling” a place and its people, and lures prospective visitors to travel to this destination. In Australia, the government tourism authority manages Australia’s tourism industry, including the specific messages provided on Australia’s main tourism website (Australia.com), the globally marketed “brand,” and the standardization of the brand and tourism promotion through territorial and regional tourism sectors. Throughout this chapter, I reference the broad-reaching communication and management of Tourism Australia as the “dominant tourism industry,” compared to the smaller, even individualized companies’ messages that are experienced “on the ground” in Australia.

The dominant tourism industry relies on “cultural appropriation” as a way to promote the unique or different cultural aspects of its destination, which means that indigenous culture is taken up, exoticized, romanticized, and sold to outsiders. As the quote above explains, the meanings of Aboriginal art and culture are no longer associated with their spiritual, traditional or historical ways in tourism; instead, the beliefs become displaced and homogenized, where a word or concept is generalized and disconnected from its deeper meaning or traditional practices (Marcus, 1997, p. 42). In this instance, the commodification and appropriation of Aboriginal art and culture is placed within the dominant structure of a national and global tourism economy. Tourism Australia becomes an authoritative voice on what Aboriginal culture and practices mean, and who has access to these Aboriginal experiences.

The tourism websites begin with narratives that produce the tourism imaginaries and seduce the potential traveler into visiting. Ultimately though, the narratives tell tourists what they can anticipate when they visit Australia. However, in my readings of the quotes from Australia’s tourism websites, I understand that the tourist is *not* merely a dupe. While the tourists’ encounters with the marketing websites do not have the same kind of dialectic coproduction of

the imaginaries as in the tourist *borderzone* (Bruner, 2005), tourists do not just consume the information without thinking. The “traveler’s and the local’s understanding does not always correspond with the producer’s intentions” (Bruner, 2005, p. 12), or vice versa. The tourists are also participants in “actively creating and recreating meanings that are made available to them by competing ideologies,” (Halualani & Nakayama, 2011, p. 6). Furthermore, tourists are not always concerned about the reality or “authenticity” of particular tourism representations (Urry, 1990; Urry & Larsen, 2011)²⁰. Scholars have written about the multiple facets of tourists, such as types, reasons for travel, or expectations (cf. Cohen, 1979; Kahn, 2003; MacCannell, 1976; McCabe, 2005; Urry, 1990). My concern here is not how individual tourists read a particular marketing discourse, but the dominant discursive ways that the Aboriginal culture is represented across the tourism websites for potential tourists.

In this first section focusing on Tourism Australia’s websites, I unpack the ways that tourism conceptualizes and commodifies the Aboriginal experience for tourists. I show that tourism websites: appropriate culture through the simplification of the term Dreamtime; consume Aboriginal identity through the invitation of “becoming Aboriginal”; and, emphasize the difference in the Aboriginal Other through the unmarked local.

Appropriation of the Dreamtime

Tourism Australia and its tourism partners tell tourists about many ways that they can experience Aboriginal culture when they visit. One of the recurring topics highlighted across tourism websites is that of tourists being able to immerse themselves in Aboriginal culture and

²⁰ See Urry’s (1990) discussion of post-tourists (p. 91).

learn about the Dreamtime, which I will discuss more below. First though, I will demonstrate the ways that Aboriginal culture is appropriated through the simplification of the Dreamtime.

Aboriginal Australia. Aboriginal people of Australia have a rich, living culture stretching back at least 50,000 years. Get a snapshot of the diverse experiences on offer when you immerse yourself in **Aboriginal Australia**. Discover places steeped in Aboriginal history in the **Northern Territory**. Visit Australia's **Red Centre** and walk around the base of **Uluru** with an Anangu guide. Browse Aboriginal art in **Alice Springs**, where the Arrernte people have lived for 20,000 years. Learn about Dreamtime myths in the intricate rock art galleries of World Heritage-listed Kakadu National Park.” (Australia.com>About>Australian Art, pg. 25).

This quote exemplifies a couple of themes in the presentation of Aboriginal culture alongside the Dreamtime. The first is that the age of the culture is commonly associated with Aboriginal identity, and here both the Australian cultural time stamp of 50,000 years is mentioned as well as the 20,000-year period of the Arrernte people in the Alice Springs region.²¹ Both of these time spans give the reader the impression of an immense history. At the same time, Tourism Australia relates this historical time period to a “living culture” which produces the idea that the culture we can “immerse” ourselves in today has “stretched” or extended from this ancient time period. In this sense the tourism industry infers Aboriginal traditionalism and compartmentalizes indigenous people as “natural or customary” (Merlan, 1998, p. 232). The tourism imaginary perpetuated here is the experience of temporal difference, where “the Other” is constructed against the contemporary. Merlan (1998) describes Western ways of thinking as shaped by ethnographic ideas of binaries:

...the changing modern is set against the unchanging traditional, the artificial or constructed against the natural or customary,...and nonindigeneity (with its histories of immigration, mixing, heterogeneity, melting pots, multiculturalism) against indigeneity (with its firstness and enormous demand placed upon it for phenotypicality, full-bloodedness, cultural essentialisms)” (pp. 232-233).

²¹ Across the five websites that I examined, references to the age of Aboriginal culture were mentioned 60 times. Thirty-one of those times were on the general Australia.com webpages.

The cultural age of 50,000 years old definitely emphasizes the “firstness” of Australian Aboriginal people. The age of the culture, its history and traditions are highlighted as discourses of difference through the discussion of time. The Aboriginal people “have” a culture that is unique to the Western ways. When positioned even implicitly in these discourses, the history of the culture becomes an “experience” where tourists are connecting with the traditional in contrast to their own contemporary lifestyles.

The second common phrasing in the Tourism Australia’s representation of Dreaming or Dreamtime is the pairing with the words “myth” or “legend.” In 1996, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation and the University of New South Wales published a book and associated booklets of “Appropriate Terminology, Representations and Protocols of Acknowledgement for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples” aimed towards educational institutions and teachers (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation & University of New South Wales, 1996a, 1996b). One of the inappropriate references mentioned was Dreamtime as “myths,” as it “conveys the impression that information from the Dreaming is not true or trivial” (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation & University of New South Wales, 1996a, p. 3). We might think that strategies to rectify discourses that promote or perpetuate inequality would be part of a national campaign, yet here we see that the government tourism authority is able to lack in “appropriate” representations. To discuss the Dreaming or Dreamtime as a spiritual belief may not draw the tourism imaginary in the same way as the “myth.” The myth infers fairy tales and imaginary situations which makes “the Other” more accessible, their beliefs less complex, and their stories more seductive for the potential tourist.

As Tonnaer's (2008) quote in the beginning of the chapter explained the Dreaming as a trope used to sell Aboriginal tourism in Australia, it also speaks to the essentialization of Aboriginal identity.

Despite the diversity of their homelands - from outback deserts and tropical rainforests to snow-capped mountains - all Aboriginal people share a belief in the timeless, magical realm of the Dreamtime. According to Aboriginal myth, totemic spirit ancestors forged all aspects of life during the Dreamtime of the world's creation. These spirit ancestors continue to connect natural phenomena, as well as past, present and future through every aspect of **Aboriginal culture** (Australia.com>About>Australia's History, pg. 23).

Here, Tourism Australia acknowledges a "diversity of... homelands" but still presents a singular Aboriginal group with a single shared spirituality by stating, "all Aboriginal people share a belief." When the term Dreaming or Dreamtime is applied to all Aboriginal people no matter their geographic location or Aboriginal cultural group, it "has the effect of smothering multiplicity under a single undifferentiated category—'aboriginal'" (Wolfe, 1991, p. 203). One of the scholarly critiques of early anthropological work was that "other" was a topic of research in which cultural groups were connected to places and often described in over-simplified ways (Bruner, 2001; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992); yet the tourism industry perpetuates historical and colonial narratives. Tourism discourses play on notions of essentialism, portraying people from a particular tourist destination in homogenous and fixed ways. Here, instead of the temporal constructions of difference, there is a presentation of the "indigenous Other" compared to the nonindigenous.

The other way that Aboriginal people are essentialized is in the belief of the Dreamtime at all. Tourism Australia's presentation of *all* Aboriginal people believing and practicing Dreamtime spirituality disregards those Aboriginal people who are no longer tied to Aboriginal cultural groups who practice Dreamings. The prospective tourist is not informed of the breaks in

traditional culture because of colonization or national displacement, or of the “assimilation” period where the “Stolen Generation” of Aboriginal children were taken from their families for a “cultural adjustment” into White society (Broome, 2002, p. 175). What is the place of these types of histories and politics in tourism? As Dann (1996) points out, “what is omitted may have at least as much influence as what is included” (p. 209). Just as people and unpleasant scenes are left out of tourism photographs, “significant” omissions also depict the “Other” in ways that appeal to and fulfill “Eurocentric archetypes,” while removing any uncomfortable references to sociopolitical realities (Dann, 1996, p. 209, Tresse, P., 1990, in 1996, pp. 209–210). When tourists travel to get away from their day-to-day lives, “few tourists search for ‘reality’” (Ryan & Huyton, 2002, p. 643). On one hand the tourism industry upholds the history and “firstness” of Aboriginal people as a commodity, on the other it erases those histories that do not serve the exotic and colonial tourism imaginaries.

The term Dreamtime therefore has become a sellable concept that: perpetuates the tourism imaginaries; invites tourists to experience Aboriginal spirituality; and, presents Aboriginal culture in an accessible way in tourists’ ability to easily understand it.

I’m going native! Becoming Indigenous to Engage with Aboriginal Culture

As I’ve discussed above, the tourism industry presents Aboriginal culture through (re)producing difference and also seduces potential tourists to seek out change from their daily lives through discourses of *escape*. In this section, Tourism Australia pushes the boundaries between self and Other, and invites potential tourists to *become* indigenous. The website creates narratives that highlight differences in cultural practices, especially those that would not resemble most people’s day-to-day lives. Tourists are told that they can perform the more

personal and individualized parts of Aboriginal identity. And, ultimately, they can embody the Aboriginal point of view.

The tourism industry describes the embodiment of becoming indigenous to the extreme. Tourism Australia invites tourists to try Aboriginal identity in its fullest capacity, to immerse themselves in Aboriginal culture by becoming Aboriginal.

Red Centre. You probably know about the **red monolith** in Australia's **Red Centre**. You may know it's sacred to the Aboriginal people here, and that it turns some spectacular colours at sunrise and sunset. You might not know that you can experience it through Aboriginal eyes, or that there are many other sacred and breathtaking sites here in Australia's vast centre. Uluru's cousin Kata Tjuta is just 40 kilometres away and you'll find the awe-inspiring Kings Canyon not far from **Alice Springs**. You might not realise that this landscape has green vegetation and lush waterholes as well as dusty red road and huge slabs of rock. And what you won't really understand until you get here is the magic, majesty, silence and splendid isolation of Australia's Red Centre."
(Australia.com/Explore/Natural Australia, pg. 54)

The Red Centre is known for the landmarks of the "red monolith," "Kata Tjuta," and "Kings Canyon," so many of us may be familiar with the sites and characteristics of the center of the Outback. This quote even recognizes that we may know it is considered a sacred place. Yet, in this quote, we are invited to have a different experience when we actually visit "Australia's vast centre," and that is where "you can experience it through Aboriginal eyes." The differences between the tourist and the Aboriginal Other are highlighted, particularly with the connection to nature. Goldie (1989) distinguishes the difference between self and Other through the process of "indigenization," which "suggests the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous" (pg. 13). Differences are most commonly recognized through appearances and language, and the "need for indigenization" first "came when a person moved to a new place and recognized an Other as having greater roots in that place" (Goldie, 1989, p. 14). Goldie (1989) points out that in so many texts, white people are in search of a spiritual connection, and "Through the indigene the white

character gains soul and the potential to become of the land” (pg. 16). In this instance, the tourist is invited to gain a deeper understanding by “becoming” indigenous.

The tourism marketing encourages tourists to a form of role-playing by “trying on” an Aboriginal identity by “looking through Aboriginal eyes.” In tourism, performance is commonly discussed as the staged show or as the performance of hosts leading tourists to believe they are experiencing the “back stage” (MacCannell, 1976). Goffman (1959) referenced the roles people play in the “front stage” as being driven by “social contexts, driven by an urge for ‘impression management’, removing our mask only in informal, ‘backstage’ regions” (Goffman (1959) in Edensor, 2001, p. 60). In discussing changes of performance in tourism, MacCannell (1976) explains “that tourism permits the release of more ‘authentic’ selves, where everyday masks are discarded” (MacCannell (1976) in Edensor, 2001, p. 60). The escape from one’s daily life to the fantasy and “play” of tourism is precisely a shift to the backstage, where role-playing and trying on other identities is acceptable (Edensor, 2001; see also MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990).

The idea of “becoming Aboriginal” is reminiscent of blackface minstrelsy, where white people dressed up with black make-up on their faces to perform “blackness” (Dines, 2014). The construct of “blackness” is produced in contrast to Whiteness, and performing in black face allowed actors to act in ways that would normally be deemed inappropriate for themselves, in the name of acting as “Other” (cf. Dines, 2014, pp. 370–371). Bhabha (1996) explains “the stereotype” of the colonized subject as *containing* “an ‘other’ knowledge—a knowledge that is arrested and fetishistic and circulates through colonial discourse as that limited form of otherness, that fixed form of difference” (p. 100). The tourism industry highlights this “Other” way of knowing through the presentation of only being able to *really* understand the Red Centre “through Aboriginal eyes.” Role-playing or trying on other identities, particularly in tourism,

enables tourists to appropriate the “Other” “without any of the risks associated with being a racial minority in real life” (Nakamura, 1995, p. 185). The non-Aboriginal person can step into the imagined role of the pre-colonial Aboriginal, and return to their normal identity of privileged traveler and “global citizen” (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010b). The realm of tourism truly is a fantasy world.

Another way that the tourism websites have invited tourists to “go native” is by playing a role and taking part in indigenous practices that are typically individual and/or sacred for Aboriginal people. One cultural practice that many of us have probably heard about within Australia is that of the “walkabout.” The walkabout is often portrayed in movies and books as a person going alone in the bush. Sally Morgan (1995) describes “Pink-eye,” which she explains as a term similar to the “more widely known term ‘walkabout’” (pg. 49). She states, “It designates a period of wandering as a nomad, often as undertaken by Aborigines who feel the need to leave the place where they are in contact with white society and return to their traditional way of life” (*ibid.*). Pink-eye or walkabout may also refer to taking a holiday without leave (*ibid.*). Ironically, the tourism websites invite tourists to go walkabout.

Go walkabout with an Aboriginal guide

Discover a rich Aboriginal heritage in the Blue Mountains - from the legend of the Three Sisters to ancient art and ceremonial sites. Visit the shallow cave of Lyrebird Dell, an Aboriginal campsite around 12,000 years old. See fine hand stencils and prints at Red Hands Cave near Glenbrook. You can reach the cave on a walking trail past Camp Fire Creek, where many years ago an Aboriginal tribe left axe-grinding grooves on volcanic rock. Go walkabout with a local Darug guide and learn about the songlines that connect sacred sites. See bark and body painting demonstrations, taste bush tucker and swim in a crystal clear billabong under a rainbow waterfall. Get up close to wildlife, explore sandstone caves and listen to the Dreamtime stories that wove this wilderness. (Australia.com/Explore/Blue Mountains, pg. 141)

As the quote is titled “Go walkabout with an Aboriginal guide,” the reader can surmise that any of the activities or descriptions here are a part of that “walkabout.” Therefore, Tourism Australia

is defining the walkabout through the imperatives of “discover,” “learn,” “see,” “taste,” and the list goes on with the culmination of “listen” to the Dreamtime stories. This is the total immersion experience into an Aboriginal lifestyle, and placed in context with the fuller explanation of “walkabout” or “pink-eye” above, tourists are given an invitation to take on the stereotypical Aboriginal “nomadic” lifestyle themselves, and embody the indigenous experience. Nakamura (1995) describes “identity tourism” in the online environment when players perform a type of racial play and “indulge in a dream of crossing over racial boundaries temporarily and recreationally” (p. 184-5). The person performing the racial play is typically white, and this appropriation becomes a “vacation from fixed identities and locales” (p. 186). Similar to the online lure, Tourism Australia suggests that the tourist can dip in to “playing” Aboriginal to learn an insider’s perspective on Aboriginal culture and the “Dreamtime stories that wove this wilderness.” This is a return to the idea that tourists are looking for something beyond their everyday experiences (Craik, 1997), and Tourism Australia creates a distinctive contrast to most people’s lives when it comes to the invitation for an escape with a walkabout.

Here, when the differences between the tourist and the Aboriginal Other are highlighted, the notion of “becoming” Aboriginal is presented as a possibility. The tourist is able to go beyond a vacation or “escape” as an outsider looking in, and ultimately is able to overcome the differences between self and Other. Again, we recognize the impossibility of becoming Aboriginal (Goldie, 1989), but the tourism industry suggests that differences may be momentarily blurred where the beliefs and practices can actually be embodied. The Aboriginal people are not seen as fully people in their own right, so it is a simple transition to become and understand them. This notion is depicted in so much of tourism advertising where it is not uncommon to see the phrase, “Go Native!” (cf. Mroczek, 2009, Chapter 2) or “Become

Indigenous” (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010a, p. 192), and in this context, the “walkabout” is the escape to “the Other” in nature, and is deeply informative.

Typically in tourism, the demonstrations, food tasting and swimming would be staged, organized and pre-planned experiences, but the discourses defining the “walkabout” offer tourists the possibility to “discover” these activities. The websites reinstate the romanticized notion of the colonial discovery. For Tourism Australia, even this quote that is taken out of the “Discover / Blue Mountains” section of the website provides an invitation to experience Aboriginal culture at a deep and personal level, always available for an individual (or a tourism audience).



Figure 3-1: Go Walkabout with an Aboriginal guide

Figure 3-1 was placed next to the “Go walkabout with an Aboriginal guide” quote above, and the combination of the text and the image further grounds the meaning. Barthes (1990) explains that an image may be perceived in many ways, but “words determine a single certainty” (pg. 13). The title of the quote placed next to this image anchors a specific meaning to the visual image, but the image also drives the tourism imaginary of what that Walkabout would look like.

We see men in body and face paint, wearing little clothing, and most have red bands on their heads. Some men appear very serious, while others are smiling. They are holding a variety of sticks and shields and what appears to be a club. The appearance of the people here is representative of a primitive culture, and the expressions on their faces conveys a partially playful and performed primitiveness, but also a savageness which is so common in representations of indigenous people (cf. Bruner, 2005; Goldie, 1989). Bruner (2005) refers to the “ethnographic present” where cultural performances and representations are presented as “static, timeless, without history, without agency, without context” (pg. 4). It is difficult to tell where the men may be in this photo, as the back wall appears rough like a cave or natural rock formation with yellow ochre paint covering it. When we examine this photo next to the quote, we understand the “rich Aboriginal heritage” as being a traditional lifestyle, where Aboriginal people were hunter-gatherers. The image complements and grounds the meaning of the quote in communicating to tourists that the experience of walkabout will immerse them not only in another culture, but also in another way of life of days gone by. Thurlow, Jaworski, and Ylänne-McEwen (2005) describe representations of a “traditional stage” in postcards as a “deliberate blurring going on between ‘authenticity’ and ‘performance,’ more often than not leading to the projection of the past as present” (p. 99), and further illustrates the “ethnographic present” (Bruner 2005). The “Darug guide” in the quote becomes one of the people in this image for the tourist imagination, and the host the tourist would go Walkabout with is confirmed as the primitive living the traditional lifestyle. There is no detail explaining whether this is the Aboriginal people’s current state of living, or whether this is a performance in the past. Just as American Indians symbolized freedom and spirit of the land as an opposition to the Euro-Americans “logical mind and the social order” (Deloria, 1998, p. 3), the presentation of

Aboriginal people in customary dress and skin paint projects an opposition to the contemporary traveler. When the tourist is able to participate in the indigenous Walkabout, the experience away from the everyday is confirmed as not only participating in Aboriginal culture, but also existing in another time.

Another significant theme that has emerged from the tourism website quotes in this chapter, and also exemplified in this most recent one, is the tourism industry's vagueness in the details of where one may experience any of the items listed here. In this example, the phrases "you can reach the cave on a walking trail..." or where there are "axe-grinding grooves on volcanic rock" resemble personal directions in telling someone how to get to a specific location. However, the tourist will not likely ever find these locations with the overly general signposts and descriptions. I argue that maintaining a certain level of vagueness in tourism marketing (re)produces the tourism imaginaries. Tourism marketing needs to portray a certain level of detail in order to capture the readers' attention and imagination, yet by providing too much detail the discourses become too "real" and may not coincide with everyone's imaginaries. Tourism Australia's utilization of vagueness in these marketing phrases provides the means for tourists to place themselves more easily into a non-descript narrative, and this move enables tourists to visualize the "indigenization" (Goldie, 1989) of themselves.

(non)Aboriginal as Local: Contrasting Unmarked Australians and Marked Aboriginal People in Tourism Discourses of "Interacting with the Locals"

Thus far, I have discussed the ways that Tourism Australia appropriates Aboriginal culture and art. In this section, I contrast those areas that invite tourists to consume Aboriginal culture and art with those pertaining to general, or "unmarked" Australian culture. The terms "marked" and "unmarked" originated with linguistics, and traditionally focused on phonology

and morphology, where categories of “markedness” signals a distinction or an “opposition” (Tomić, 1989, p. 1). According to Hymes (2013), “the unmarked and marked meanings are each defined by a particular rule or relation” (p. 111), where the “marked” departs from what is “natural” and thereby reveals the power in differentiation (p. 122). Banks (1987) describes this power when he states, “unmarkedness is related to preference: markedness generally signals nonstandardness in a negatively valued sense, such that an individual who exhibits markedness is seen as different from a standard, normal, and natural reference category” (pp. 175-176). In the case of the Tourism Australia websites, statements that are more vague or general, such as “Australian,” “Australian culture,” “local(s),” or “host” would be considered unmarked due to the reference of an Australian “standard.” In contrast, “Aboriginal” Australian, “Aboriginal” culture, etc., is considered marked in that it is narrowing down and specifying a departure from the more general and naturalized idea of Australian.

This section demonstrates how much less detailed, and less invasive, the descriptions are in the invitations to meet the “unmarked” host who is not labeled as Aboriginal or indigenous. In doing so, I (re-)emphasize how exceptional my above discussion sections were in Tourism Australia’s invitations for tourists to consume “marked” Aboriginal experiences and culture. It is by placing the “marked” and “unmarked” categories in close context that we can discern how the meaning of Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal are defined in relation to the other (or “Other”). By categorizing membership to a particular identity a “stance toward the cultural category [is] being referenced” (Robles, 2013, p. 103), which can expose the “speaker’s opinion, belief or attitude” (Ochs, 1993, in Robles, 2013, p. 103).

In looking across the tourism websites, Tourism Australia and its affiliates commonly use discourses of “Immersion” where phrases indicate that tourists can make a personal connection

to, or interact with, either Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal people and culture. Phrases using themes of immersion for Aboriginal people were found in at least fifty-one areas across the websites, where invitation to “immerse” in non-Aboriginal practices was only introduced seventeen times. Moreover, those descriptions are incredibly different from those about Aboriginal people. In comparing “unmarked” situations of connecting or interacting, three themes emerged: welcoming to places of business; offering an (impersonal) “insiders” perspective; and, forefronting the character and personality of the unmarked Aussie.

Welcome to Our Business.

Tourism Australia markets an atmosphere where tourists would feel welcomed by locals. In the previous sections, I have discussed how tourists have been invited to attend and participate in sacred and spiritual Dreamtime moments, and to take on indigenous practices or even the Aboriginal identity. In turning our gaze at the unmarked Australian local, there are a couple of notable differences. First and foremost, is that the places that tourists and locals are shown to interact are places of business. In other words, they are already places where customers and customer service are expected. Second, the ability to participate and interact in Australian culture is merely to “meet” and “talk.”

Cellar hop in the Barossa. Sip wines from more than 60 cellar doors, including Yalumba, Wolf Blass and Peter Lehmann in **Australia’s wine capital**. In the Barossa you’ll get to meet the people behind the labels and talk to them about their craft. You can also match your favorite wine with locally made cheese on a food and wine trail, tour historic wineries, take a tutored tasting or learn cellar secrets in a wine masterclass... (australia.com/Explore/Food and Wine, pg. 56).

In this situation, tourists will “meet” and “talk” with the people at wineries that are producing the wines and running the tours. There is also a menu of services that may be taken advantage of, such as “tutored” wine tastings or a wine “masterclass.” I would like to call attention to the

setting of this interaction as being a place of business that has a tourist draw. Wineries and wine tours are open to the public, and very popular in many geographic locations. If we turn back to the “marked” immersion experiences with Aboriginal culture, there were very few examples that took place in a designated tourist space. When it comes to non-Aboriginal Australians, the tourism industry essentially presents them as “available” for tourists during “business hours.” Where, alternatively, the industry markets access to Aboriginal people as not pertaining to a particular timeframe or tourism establishment. In fact, they are often vague settings depicted as somewhere in the Australian outback or bush.

In this second example, the presentation of interaction in tourist spaces is disguised as a personal invitation to go behind the scenes and “live like a local” with a host family. However, like the previous quote, this description is clearly a touristic business that provides accommodations for visitors.

Flinders Ranges and Outback

From the pioneering history of outback explorers to modern day facilities, there is a range of accommodation in the Flinders Ranges and Outback. A station stay allows you to live like a local in the outback. Stay in modest shearers’ quarters, cook your own meals or join your “host” family for dinner. You can also camp or caravan at many locations in the Flinders, or enjoy the country hospitality at a luxury homestead, which offers an oasis of finery in the outback. (sa.gov.au / Accommodation, pg. 62)

This section was placed on South Australia’s website under the sub-menu of accommodations. This quote explains the types of stays that people may find in the Flinders Ranges and Outback. Tourists are invited to “live like a local” by staying in a station’s shearers’ quarters, where they can “cook their own meals” or join the “host” family for dinner. All of this personalized experience is made available to tourists for the right price. In this situation, when the unmarked Australian is offering a more “personal” experience, it still relates to a business interaction. The tourism industry continues to offer tourists opportunities to not only learn about the history and

spiritual practices of Aboriginal people, but also to participate in areas where traditionally history and kinship would be the only access to particular information.

These offers for tourists to interact with locals within customer service establishments were a common theme. Occasionally, the tourist was invited to interact with a more ambiguous host, with the designated local person being “whomever” may show up. In this way, the host could be the unmarked Australian, but there is not a promise of local information being shared or a designation of “hosting” at all.

Stay in salty seaside towns

Stay in pretty Exmouth,... Back in town, you’ll find accommodation to suit all budgets, from self-contained apartments to backpackers and campsites. Wander the yachting marina and visit the town’s cafes, restaurants, boutiques and wine bars. Then have a yarn with the locals or other travellers over a beer at the local tavern... (Australia.com/Explore/Ningaloo, pg. 129-130).

While the recipient of the conversation is non-descript, this is another situation where the “yarn with the locals” is taking place in a public establishment. The tourist can make their way throughout the town, and have a discussion with either locals or other travellers at the local tavern. This does not give any expectations of presence or hosting, but is put forward more as a suggestion for a casual passing or interaction. The unmarked Australian is potentially unseen, and the interaction with “locals” is the offer of a beer!

Offering the (impersonal) “Insider’s” Perspective.

Just as the setting of the interactions was different between tourists and the “unmarked” host, the information that the non-Aboriginal local is portrayed as sharing is disparate as well. This example merges the themes of connecting with locals and finding a way to get an “insider’s” scoop.

Get the low-down from a local. The Northern Territory's tourist centres are staffed with knowledgeable, helpful locals who can help out with advice, recommendations and information, and make tour and accommodation bookings on your behalf... (travelnt.com/Travelling in the NT / Visitor information centres, pg. 82)

The unmarked locals are “knowledgeable” and “helpful,” and can offer “advice, recommendations and information,” and make bookings for you. Like the other area, this interaction is taking place in a designated tourism information center, but the focus here is the generic and impersonal information the local is expected to share. The unmarked Aussie is helpful, yet the information they are said to provide is not imposing on them in any personal way.

The information that is shared by unmarked hosts does not connect to personal beliefs even when there are more details involved.

Join a tour

Allow a local guide to show you around the Eyre Peninsula, unlocking the many secrets of this region. They know where to spot the native wildlife, can help you find the freshest seafood and will show you the hidden places which make the Eyre Peninsula special.” (sa.gov.au / Regions / Eyre Peninsula, p. 40).

First, it is clear that the insider's scoop is achieved by “join[ing] a tour,” and the “local” is a guide doing her/his job. Once again, the interaction is placed in the context of the tourism industry. By signing up for the tour, the local guide will “[unlock] the many secrets of this region.” Those secrets are also defined for us. We can learn where to spot wildlife, “find the freshest seafood,” and the other hidden gems. While these may be secrets that locals may not want to part with for fear of tourists taking over the local restaurant or shopping facilities, these are nothing near the descriptions of the personal and spiritual details suggested that one can achieve when connected to Aboriginal or indigenous people. With Aboriginal people, tourists are told they can immerse themselves in traditions that have been passed through the centuries, the spirituality and songs connecting the people to the land, and participate in ceremonies. The

“unmarked” hosts’ narratives provide information that is typically given in a casual conversation, rather than spiritual or personal.

“G’day Mate!": The “Unmarked” Warm, Hospitable Aussie Character.

When Tourism Australia suggests tourists get to know or experience a part of non-Aboriginal Australia or its traditions, it often prompts this behavior through the (re)presented friendliness and warm hosting culture of its people. In this way, the unmarked Australian is characterized by personality traits or qualities rather than by their spiritual beliefs or practices like the marked Aboriginal people. The personality description regularly depicts the stereotype of the simple Outback Aussie with a sense of humor that has been a long-term image of Australia and Australians since the first *Crocodile Dundee* (1986) movie, starting Paul Hogan as Mick Dundee (Thornton et al., 2002). The Australian Tourism Commission even created tourism campaigns featuring Paul Hogan as his on-screen character before the release of the movie, and the ads were “memorable for the famous line, ‘Throw another shrimp on the barbie’” (Macaskill & Maynard, 2010, p. 198). This image was also marketed back to Australians themselves “in an attempt to give Australia an identity in a top down way from the government saying ‘This is what Australia’s about, isn’t it?’” (Graeme Turner in Thornton et al., 2002). According to Macaskill and Maynard (2010), “these advertisements claimed Australia was a nation of friendly, laid-back people and Hogan was seen as a living example of...[the] ‘national type’” (p. 198).²² This stereotype is carried through in the unmarked presentations across the tourism websites.

The websites highlight the theme of extreme friendliness for tourists, where instead of suggesting visitors can act or “become” local, Tourism Australia gives the perception that

²² In April, 2016, Tourism Australia announced that the 30th anniversary of the release of the *Crocodile Dundee* film is believed to “provide a significant boost to tourism in Kakadu, where most of the film’s Australian scenes were shot” (Tourism Australia, 2016). The Northern Territory Government and Tourism NT are celebrating with a new tourism campaign and tours that highlight the sites made famous by the film.

tourists will easily interact or befriend the unmarked locals. Western Australia's tourism site plays on the warm and charming Aussie personality, including the greetings and beer.

People and Lifestyle

Known affectionately as Sandgroppers (named, oddly enough, after a subterranean bug!) West Australians are renowned for their world-famous friendliness and penchant for play. A laidback bunch quick to say "G'day" and shout a bevy of beer, they're proud as punch of their clean, unspoiled and picture-perfect home turf. (westernaustralia.com/Things to See and Do, pg. 36)

The presentation of the "world-famous friendliness" enables the potential tourist to put the stereotype to the Australian identity. Here is also added the "penchant for play" which complements the "laidback" attitudes and the expected "G'day" greeting. All of the friendly hellos and the "shout a bevy of beer" give the overall impression of an easy-goingness and a welcoming manner that will enable tourists to get in with the locals. All they need to do is find the local tavern. Even the play on words, calling locals "Sandgroppers," emphasizes an "insiders' view of Australian's playfulness, and reproduces the non-Aboriginal Australian images we have become so familiar with.

A passage on the Northern Territory's website continues to focus on the "warm and welcoming" unmarked Australian, but also hints at the inclusion of Aboriginal people. Ultimately, this combination of the friendly unmarked Australian and the implicit inclusion of the marked Aboriginal Australian create a generic image of who will act as host. The Aboriginal history and culture is blurred into an unmarked local, set within the exotic setting. In fact, the description presents a general notion of the Northern Territory rather than alluding to specifics.

Landscape and locals

From the coast to the red centre, the Northern Territory's landscape is like no other. In semi-arid Central Australia, marvel at stunning rock formations and Australia's iconic monolith, Uluru... Watch for exotic species of birds, reptiles and marine life. Meet the locals and embrace the stories: local history stems back to ancient times and the land is home to the world's oldest living culture. The Territory's population of just 230,000 is

famously warm and welcoming, and just as diverse as its landscape.
([travelnt.com/Travelling in the NT / About the Northern Territory](http://travelnt.com/Travelling%20in%20the%20NT%20-%20About%20the%20Northern%20Territory), pg. 63)

This quote begins by describing the diversity of the lands and wildlife associated with the Northern Territory. In a very generic way, it goes on to explain the locals also as a diverse population (i.e. the population is just as diverse...). Even though “local” is unmarked, there are hints of including Aboriginal people in this category of people that can be met by tourists. For example, the local history “stems back to ancient times” and the mention of the land being “home to the world’s oldest living culture” could quite easily be connected to the Aboriginal people. Yet there is not an explicit inclusion of Aboriginal people in this description of the Northern Territory. Here, the “Other” is blurred into the larger population of un-marked “local” and the diverse wildlife and landscape. There is not a sense of who the local may be, but when placed in context with all of the other unmarked Australian descriptions, the potential tourist gets the impression that there is always the “simple” Aussie with a good sense of humor among the more implicitly produced representations of the marked Aboriginal people. The tourism industry’s representation of the diverse group (of unmarked and implicitly marked categories of Australians) can be seen as presenting a “safe” connection with “the Other,” where the marked Aboriginal local is not the majority in this encounter.

Finally, what could be more playful in the tourism websites than subtle jokes that highlight the humor and fun of Australians?

Crocodiles

There are more crocodiles in the Northern Territory than anywhere else in the world, so jump in a boat or visit a park and meet the real locals. ([travelnt.com/Destinations/Darwin & Surrounds](http://travelnt.com/Destinations/Darwin%20%26%20Surrounds), pg. 5)

Not only does this play on the *Crocodile Dundee* identity of Aussies, but it creates both a literal meaning of “local” (i.e. the crocodiles), as well as a metaphorical one. This quote plays on the

ruggedness and resilience of those living in the Northern Territory with the discussion of crocodiles. More importantly, it plays on the idea of giving tourists another insiders' look at what is "local" without infringing on any local people needing to play host for the tourists.

The tourism websites have made it clear: the unmarked non-Aboriginal "immersion" is possible for meeting and talking, as long as it is in a public venue or tourism business. There is also a (re)production and focus on the characteristics of the friendly, easy-going Aussie that is commonly seen in popular culture. The "insider" information that the unmarked Australian will provide tourists is helpful, but definitely not overstepping any boundaries of personal and professional spaces. This gives the impression of accessibility to the locals, but definitely in a much different framing than has been given for Aboriginal people. The unmarked local is stereotyped, but still as the personable people tourists would want to interact with or befriend. The marked Aboriginal people are presented as vessels for culture; there is not a perception of personalities, but as people that we will be symbolic of cultural difference. These representations set up a stark contrast between the tourist spaces of non-Aboriginal Australian contact and the presentations of Aboriginal culture as part of the tourist trade.

Tourism Australia (re)produces representations of the Aboriginal indigenous person who symbolizes nature and a spiritual connection to the land. In contrast, the unmarked Australian local is emphasized through their personality traits and demeanor. The indigenous "Other" is presented as a commodified object of the tourism gaze, to personally experience their personal and cultural practices. On the other hand, the unmarked Aussie is figured as the tourists' potential friend and helper.

Discourses of Difference by Australian Tour Guides: Responding to Tourist Imaginaries & Resisting Appropriation

I now change my focus to the cultural tours that I attended in Australia that focused on Aboriginal art and culture. This section explores the guides' narratives, and examines the dominant themes of their discourses. The quotes that I analyze in this section are taken from my field notes. Through my experiences in tours, this section will show the ways that "on the ground" hosts provide a much more nuanced way of presenting Aboriginal culture and art than the Australian Tourism Authority.

In cultural tourism, the boundary between tourism and culture is blurred, where the tourism "product" expands from physical products or experiences to purchase (i.e. accommodations, souvenirs, etc.), to the broader concept of culture where tourists consume signs (i.e. signs of Frenchness, signs of exoticness, etc.) (Rojek & Urry, 1997). The tourist is seeking *experiences*, so the tourism product includes a multisensory engagement in a particular activity.²³ According to Tourism Australia (2008), "the key is to offer immersive, interactive, active and adventurous experiences" (p. 18). The guides have a performative role in the tourist experience, where workers "take on roles, workplaces become stages, managers become directors, and so on" (Crang, 1997, p. 138). In order to have or participate in a successful tourism business, the local guide must respond to the tourists' imaginaries and their perceived desires (Bunten, 2008, 2010a, 2011; Crang, 1997). According to Bunten (2011), the "tourism worker keenly experiences [a] 'double consciousness', or the idea that 'one is always looking at one's self through the eyes of others', as she struggles between her identity as lived outside of the workplace and the identity

²³ Tourism Australia (2008) emphasizes "the importance of shifting towards promoting experiences rather than merely 'products'" (p. 16). In addition, they explain, to "entice the *Experience Seeker*, [the product offering] needs to offer and promote authentic, engaging, unique and personal holiday experiences" (p. 16). According to the campaign, the seven types of *Experience Seeker* experiences include: Aboriginal Australia; Nature in Australia; Outback Australia; Aussie Coastal Lifestyle; Food and Wine; Australian Major Cities; and, Australian Journeys (p. 16).

she commoditizes to satisfy the tourist gaze” (p. 73). While tours commonly have some form of a script, the local guide is also making purposeful decisions as to how to present themselves and the topics they are discussing to balance their idea of themselves with a presented imaginary for the visitors.

Scholars describe the complicated and often contradictory aspects for indigenous people who present themselves within and for cross-cultural tourism (cf. Adams, 1995, 2006; Bruner, 2005; Bunten, 2008). One concern is whether local people lose their culture or become too reliant on the tourism economy and “sell out” (Stronza, 2001). Studies have shown that indigenous people are not passive spectators in their interactions with tourists, nor are they merely victims of the tourism environment (cf. Adams, 1995, 2006; Bruner, 2005; Bunten, 2008, 2010a; Stronza, 2001). Some examples demonstrate local people’s active participation in their representations in the tourism industry, including: Maasai dancers purposefully hiding their own contemporary material objects from tourists in order to perform a more “traditional” appearance to meet tourists’ expectations (Bruner, 2001; Bruner & Kirshenblatt-gimblett, 1994); host cultures repurposing traditional and religious carvings specifically for the tourism market (Adams, 2006); and, Aboriginal people proclaiming their pride in performing for tourists as a means of carrying on their culture (Bunten, 2014). Most importantly, the touristic space becomes a dialogical one where the self-commoditization of the local guides “takes attention away from the impossible question of authenticity and, instead, focuses it on hosts’ strategies of self-conscious self-representation mediated by cross-cultural concepts of identity” (Bunten, 2008, p. 392). Babcock (1978) references these types of acts as “symbolic inversion” where “expressive behavior...inverts, contradicts,... or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values and norms...” (p. 14). Symbolic inversion “manipulat[es] and upend[s]

sociocultural orders” (Babcock, 1978, p. 31). The indigenous hosts are making conscious decisions about their own representations and interactions in the tourism industry.

As I have mentioned above, the tour guides I interacted with in Australia were not all Aboriginal people, but Bunten’s (2008) concept of the “commodified persona” provides a framework to examine the positions and potential stakes of local people working in the Aboriginal cultural tourism sector.²⁴ Bunten’s (2008) own study examined the Alaska Natives in Sitka, who acted as guides in tourism²⁵, and had to balance their own commitment to their culture with the tourism demands of portraying their culture for tourists’ entertainment. The “commodified persona” takes into account “the psychological stress associated with selling one’s ethnic identity” in the tourism spaces where tourists seek to consume their preconceived imaginaries (Bunten, 2008, p. 392). One category of the “commodified persona” that is especially relevant to this study is that of “covert resistance,” where guides realize the value of participating in tourism and its contribution to preserving their culture, but guides also struggle with performing to a stereotype that can be demeaning or lowering to themselves (Bunten, 2008, p. 389). The main ways that Bunten (2008) describes guides as challenging stereotypes and creating covert resistance is through narratives that express how culture has persisted through the dominant society, telling stories set in contemporary times and using humor (p. 389). In addition, guides may portray resistance by “withholding information, refusing to engage with tourists and ignoring them, and offering misinformation” (Bunten, 2008, p. 390). Importantly though, the acts

²⁴ Following Zeppel (1999), I define Aboriginal tourism products as attractions featuring “Aboriginal people; Aboriginal spirituality or the dreaming; Aboriginal bushcraft skills; Aboriginal cultural practices; and Aboriginal artifacts” (Zeppel, H. (1999) in Ryan & Huyton, 2002, p. 632). All of the guides leading the Aboriginal cultural tours focused on one or multiple of these artifacts or practices, whether they were an Aboriginal person or not.

²⁵ Bunten was able to work for “Tribal Tours” because she fit two criteria: she is “Alaska Native... familiar with Tlingit culture and history, although [she] was not raised in and [has] no ties to Sitka (another important prerequisite for Tribal Tours employment)” (Bunten, 2008, p. 392, footnote #2).

of resistance need to fall in line with the performance of the tour guide in order to maintain the demands of the tourists and the tourism market (Bunten, 2008, p. 390).

All of the guides in my study focused on promoting and preserving Aboriginal art and culture, and use discourses that clearly parted ways from those provided by Tourism Australia. Throughout this section, I will foreground how guides perform the tourism imaginaries alongside communicating resistance to the appropriation of Aboriginal culture. They do this by incorporating Aboriginal language to correct Dreamtime and by upholding Aboriginal gender roles in tourism as a means to request respect. The guides are restrained by the expectations of the tourism industry when they (re)produce and perform culture, and these limitations placed on guides perpetuate the tourism imaginaries. When the guides incorporate corrective statements, it provides detailed information that places guides in a position that exhibits their knowledge of indigenous culture. In this role of “expert,” guides present “insider information,” which implicitly presents Tourism Australia’s narratives as more of a “myth.”

Dreamtime “Corrected”: Incorporation of Aboriginal Language as a Marker of Subversion

As I have illustrated in the website section of this chapter, Tourism Australia presents the concept of Dreamtime as an example of one of the ways that non-Aboriginal people can experience Aboriginal sacred stories, and understand the foundations of Aboriginal art. The term Dreamtime is considered less appropriate than Dreaming(s), as Dreamtime is not accurate and “tends to indicate a time period, which has finished,” while “the Dreamings are ongoing all over Australia” (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation & University of New South Wales, 1996a, p. 3). The guides whose tours I attended explained that calling this Dreamtime infers that it is

something that is done while Aboriginal people are sleeping, or that it is make-believe.²⁶ Wolfe (1991) explains that the Dreaming “has long signified the subordinate aspect of a lop-sided ambivalence between scientific empiricism and various forms of subjective or romantic idealism in European discourse” (p. 203), which falls within “dichotomous representations of nature and of the female” and to “the enduring alternation of base and noble savagery”(p. 204). In other words, the term itself, created by white anthropologists, has been used as a way of representing Aboriginal people as having a simple mind that is in a dream state, or a savage mind that is not connected to reality because it is mentally elsewhere. The term then has been used to further the intentions of the colonizers, as Bunten (2014) states that “Akin to the United States’ doctrine of ‘manifest destiny,’ the Australian government actively promoted a romanticized notion of Australian Aboriginal peoples as stuck in the ‘dreamtime’ to justify the theft of Aboriginal resources in founding modern nationhood” (p. 87). While some of the policies have changed in contemporary times, the ambiguousness of the concept of Dreaming is maintained particularly in the tourism industry where “[these ideas are propagated] through the transmogrification of complex indigenous beliefs into simplified images, sound bites, and ideas that can be easily consumed in highly mediated spaces, performances, and souvenirs” (Bunten, 2014, p. 87). In Australia, the guides’ narratives around the term “Dreamtime” expressed a desire to change this non-Aboriginal reference, as well as to establish boundaries around their spiritual practice through *withholding* details of Aboriginal culture.

In this section, I argue that Aboriginal people perform a covert act of resistance by making “corrective statements” regarding Aboriginal culture, specifically in relation to the spiritual knowledge of the Dreamtime. The key way is the guides’ incorporation of the

²⁶ (See also Korff, n.d.)

geographical area's Aboriginal language into their explanation. This change of terminology using the heritage language does two things: first, it enables Aboriginal people to emphasize and perhaps even reinstate the indigenous language; and second, it corrects the dominant term used by Tourism Australia and its affiliates that perpetuates the "white-washing" of the presentation of Aboriginal culture.

The tourists' imaginaries have been (re)produced through the dominant narratives of Dreamtime or Dreaming. If a guide goes too far off script, or perhaps discusses more of the "serious" or political or ugly histories imposed on indigenous people, these tourist experiences may not be able to continue to be successful (Bunten, 2008). There is also a level of self-commodification when guides use the local language of the cultural group alongside English to mark their identity as different and exotic for the tourists (Bunten, 2008, p. 387). While I do believe that the guides in Australia are emphasizing a linguistic difference to perform the tourism imaginary, they are also inserting the non-English words in a way that corrects the dominant terminology. One way that a "commodified persona" may be enacted is by "rejecting stereotyping through covert acts of resistance"; Bunten (2008) explains a common strategy for guides is "rehearsed and spontaneous commentary" and humor to disrupt the typical representations of spirituality and being connected to nature (Bunten, 2008, pp. 389–90). By using the Aboriginal word, the guides in this study provide more detail about Aboriginal culture, using what tourists can perceive as the "real" words, and situating the guide in a position as "expert" by providing a more "authentic" culture. Therefore, I add "corrective statements" to Bunten's (2008) discussion of "covert acts of resistance" as another means that local people can reject stereotypes by disrupting the dominant narratives.

An Aboriginal man named Otto, a guide on one tour, discussed the issue around the Dreamtime concept. This walking tour passed through many areas where ceremonies and learning took place. As our tour group passed different locations, Otto would describe detailed stories that sounded like the mythological history of that land. The guide explained that Aboriginal groups and individuals have totem animals. At one particular location, he went into great detail about a poisonous snake and a python woman fighting, which created the rock formations and indentations that are present today. He went on to explain:

The Anangu do not use Dreamtime because it does not relate to what they mean. Dreamtime means sleeping and this is not at all connected to their creation stories. They call them Tjukurpa. It is the stories here about the fruit, the creation period... like The Bible. (quote from personal field notes, pg. 54)

In this explanation, Otto points out that one particular Aboriginal group (“the Anangu”) do not use the term Dreamtime because the expression does not translate to the Aboriginal practice or belief. This is further emphasized when the guide points out the inappropriate translation of the Dreamtime that does not match the Aboriginal beliefs and practices, and Otto contrasts the two definitions. On one hand, there is Dreamtime as dreaming, or what one does when one sleeps. On the other side, he explains that the “creation stories” have nothing to do with sleeping, or an unconscious practice, like dreaming. Otto then teaches the tourists the correct term and defines it. Otto helps to frame the significance of the Aboriginal creation stories when he compares the Tjukurpa to The Bible, as a broad audience of tourists will most likely understand The Bible as an important, sacred object. A comparison to The Bible also emphasizes the intricacy, and perhaps even elaborateness of the topic. Most importantly, Otto has implicitly stated that Tourism Australia’s concept is wrong, and the “real” term for the Anangu people is “Tjukurpa.”

The same kind of correction of wording also occurred in non-Aboriginal guided tours. One such example was given on a tour bus that was heading to Uluru. Karley, one of our guides

for the day, spent some time explaining to the tourist bus some proper etiquette for when we arrived at Uluru. She described Uluru as Aboriginal people's backyard, and asked us not to "just take photos of the Aboriginal people" (personal field notes, pg. 40). Karley asked us to imagine how we would feel in our own backyard when a bus pulls up, and everyone begins to take photos! She then went on to explain that when the bus arrives, the Aboriginal local people would come down to sell their art. This art was described as "a lot cheaper than you'll find anywhere else," and if you make a purchase, then you can ask to take their photo (*ibid.*, pg. 40). Karley then went on to say:

Tjukurpa is the Aboriginal laws, social understanding and boundaries that their lives revolve around. We know this as the Dreamtime. The Aboriginal people believe that this doesn't fully capture what it really means. So Tjukurpa is about their beliefs. You can buy a book on it... and we'll teach you throughout the day. (quote from personal field notes, pg. 40)

The guide begins her explanation by using the term "Tjukurpa," and defining it as "Aboriginal laws, social understanding, and boundaries that their lives revolve around." This definition of Tjukurpa is much less spiritual sounding than the previous example above, but by describing it as "laws," "social understanding" and "boundaries" there is still significance and value communicated: what Tjukurpa means to the Aboriginal people. Karley then says "We know this as the Dreamtime," which places herself alongside the other non-Aboriginal people on the tour through the use of "we." The assertion "We know" implies that Dreamtime is a well-known term, and even ubiquitous among the tourists. However, Karley then goes on to infer that maybe "we" haven't fully understood by stating, "The Aboriginal people believe that [Dreamtime] doesn't fully capture what it really means." By beginning the next sentence with "So...", Karley is pointing out that if we are referencing Aboriginal people's beliefs, and want to fully capture that meaning, "Tjukurpa" is the correct term. Karley points out that the tourists can "buy a book

on it,” which makes a statement of the breadth or depth of this topic, but then she also explains that the tourists will learn about Tjukurpa throughout the day, as our guides teach us.

The use of Aboriginal language in this situation is suppressed more often than in other tourism industries that use their indigenous languages as a commodity. For example, places such as Hawai'i use the Hawaiian language to promote and commodify the Hawaiian identity (e.g. *aloha*, *mahalo*, etc.) (cf. Mroczek, 2009). Here, in Australia, we see a different situation where a made up, white anthropological term is being used to commodify Aboriginal culture and Aboriginal people are attempting to bring back the original word to forefront the original concept. The act of “naming” is one stage in “site sacralization” (MacCannell, 1976, p. 44), which we can apply here to also emphasize or set apart a cultural practice. Hawaiian Cultural Advisors also have worked to reincorporate more Hawaiian words in tourism spaces both as a way to relearn their own culture and to make an assertion about Hawaiian identity, which resembles goals of the Hawaiian renaissance (Mroczek, 2009). For Australian Aboriginal people, the meaning has not been appropriately translated, so the original concept is re-emphasized by the guide. The practice of “languaging” can be applied here where “a scoring over one’s rivals through the use of real or fictitious foreign words of which they have scant knowledge” signifies a “one-up-manship” (Potter, 1970, in Dann, 1996, p. 183). This also turns the Aboriginal term into a commodity for the guides that signifies a more “authentic” explanation of the spiritual beliefs, and places the guides in a position of “authority” compared to Tourism Australia.

The guides’ use of the term has done more than just correct the dominant tourism authority and place them in the role of expert; it also presents the opportunity to limit the appropriation of the spiritual beliefs. The following quote taken from the signage at the Uluru-

Katajuṭa cultural center exemplifies the ways that hosts withhold information or limit access for tourists:

Tjukurpa is very important as it is the basis of social, religious, legal and ethical systems of Anangu culture. Tjukurpa tells about the creation time and how physical things came to be. It also teaches how we should behave towards each other, and how and why things happen. Tjukurpa is very complex, and under our law only some aspects of it can be shared with visitors to Uluru-Katajuṭa National Park. (personal field notes and confirmed through Director of National Parks, 2012))

Once again, the word “Tjukurpa” is defined for us. The definition on the sign actually combines both the spiritual used by Otto, and the social and legal described by Karley. The sign states that Tjukurpa is all of those things, “the basis of social, religious, legal and ethical systems of Anangu culture.” The depth or the breadth of the subject is also stated here with the description of Tjukurpa as “complex.” Once again, tourists are told that they cannot fully learn about the Aboriginal Tjukurpa, as the sign states “only some aspects of it can be shared with visitors” to this location. In other words, while aspects can be shared, there is also an understanding that tourists will not have access to all of the information to understand or learn Tjukurpa. Parsons (2002) discusses assumed encoded hidden meanings in at least some Aboriginal performances for nineteenth century nonindigenous settlers and explains “it is possible that these performances may have served to maintain ritual knowledge and traditions” (p. 17). This is one incident where the sign at the Uluru-Katajuṭa cultural center explicitly limits tourism’s appropriation of Tjukurpa (or the Dreamtime). The cultural center and its sign participate in a performance for tourism which responds and fulfills a role of the tourism imaginary, but at the same time, the Anangu people are resisting a complete commodification of their spiritual beliefs.²⁷

The repetitive use of the word Tjukurpa throughout the sign emphasizes the Anangu language as the “norm.” While the rest of the sign is in English, the Tjukurpa term is used in a

²⁷ It should also be noted that no photographs were allowed to be taken near or within the cultural center.

straightforward manner as if we all should recognize and understand the concept as it is explained. It should also be noted, that after further research, the words Dream, Dreaming or Dreamtime do not exist on any of the signage in the Uluru-Katajura cultural center.²⁸ Sorochan (2015) explains that “Naming participates in the ongoing constitution of history, lineage, and cultural continuity while also at times becoming an object of contestation, opening up spaces of struggle, designating a rupture with the past, and contributing to alternative imaginaries” (p. 15). In this instance, the Aboriginal owners of the cultural center have very intentionally produced information in their own heritage language, which naturalizes the Aboriginal language over the English as the English “Dreamtime” is not used at all. Wolfe (1991) explains the cultural irony for the Aboriginal Koori people where “the Dreamtime has become the central symbol of [their] cultural revivalism, however, the Dreamtime concept encodes and sustains the subjugation and expropriation of the Koori population” (p. 199). The re-appropriation of the Anangu language placed prominently on the signage in the Uluru-Katajura cultural center is one way that Aboriginal people can subvert the dominant stereotype(s) that all Aboriginal people and their spirituality are the same, and are associated with the English concept Dreamtime.

The Didgeridoo: The Symbol of Aboriginality and Disrespect for Aboriginal Gendered Roles

“The didgeridoo was not used here. It was too heavy for people to carry when surviving in the desert. This instrument is also from the Northern area around Darwin. Yet there is a didgeridoo performance also at the Ayers Rock Resort”
(quote by Toby, non-Aboriginal tour guide, personal field notes)

“The Yidaki comes from northeast Arnhem Land and was originally played only in Australia’s Top End” (Yunupingu, 1997, p. vii)

²⁸ (cf. Director of National Parks, 2012)

Aboriginal guides also request respect through discussions and representations of the didgeridoo. The didgeridoo in this sense is presented on one hand by the dominant tourism industry (mainly non-Aboriginal culture) as a symbol that represents all Aboriginal people in a homogenous group as “Other,” and on the other hand, by the guides that I encountered in my fieldwork as a tool to facilitate and mediate conversations with tourists about respect of Aboriginal culture. They did this through conversations of gendered roles, and then pointed to how the didgeridoo is (inappropriately) used in tourism.

In the most basic way, the didgeridoo has become symbolic for Aboriginal culture similar to the Dreamtime, where it is associated with *all* Aboriginal people and not just one group. In the first quote above, one of the guides that I have interacted with explains that the didgeridoo was not used in the desert, and is actually unrealistic to even consider (i.e. “it was too heavy for people to carry when surviving in the desert”). Yet, the irony is that when traveling through the “Red Center” of Australia, the didgeridoo is regularly seen in souvenir shops, galleries and in performances.²⁹ The guide illustrates this irony by mentioning the didgeridoo performance “at the Ayers Rock Resort” which is at Uluru in the center of the desert. Even though the didgeridoo was not traditionally used here, it is highlighted in the Aboriginal entertainment for outsiders.³⁰

The history of the didgeridoo is also discussed above by Yunupingu (1997), a Yolngu person from northeastern Arnhem Land, who explains that the didgeridoo (or known to the Yolngu people as the *Yidaki*) does indeed originate in the geographic location of his people. Yunupingu (1997) explains that the *Yidaki* is “deeply entrenched in Yolngu spiritual existence” (p. vii). He goes on to explain:

²⁹ This was my personal experience when traveling through Alice Springs, Uluru and Kings Canyon during the summer of 2013.

³⁰ I was able to see a small portion of a didgeridoo performance in a courtyard at Ayers Rock Resort. The typical performances of asking tourists to come up were beginning, but I had to leave to catch my transportation.

Yolngu understand the Yidaki has become an Australian icon and accept that non-Yolngu people throughout the world now use it for informal purposes and enjoyment. Be aware, however, that its origins are sacred and secret to Yolngu men. Those stories cannot be told here, can only be shared with initiated men. The Yidaki is a male-oriented instrument. In Yolngu society women are forbidden to play it as its origins are sacred to men (Yunupingu, 1997, p. vii).

Yunupingu acknowledges that the instrument is being appropriated by non-Yolngu people and recognizes that it is being used for entertainment. After this recognition, he turns to declare both the spiritual nature of the didgeridoo, and that it is associated with Yolngu practices pertaining to particular gender roles and initiation. Discursively, we can see this second part of his statement as a “yes, but...” type of turn, where Yunupingu ultimately is asking for respect of the Yolngu people’s tradition.

In my own experiences of going on tours, the guides begin by giving the background on traditional gender roles and practices, and then eventually associate that practice with tourism. In the context of discussing gender roles, the guides also explicitly stated the practices that are inappropriate for tourists to do within those beliefs. Interestingly, out of the four Aboriginal guides who led my tours, two of them were women, and after describing how the gender roles functioned in Aboriginal culture, both brought up the disrespect of the use of the didgeridoo in tourism. As Moreton-Robinson (1998) explains, “The narratives of Aboriginal women reveal that they are embodied, and embedded in a network of social relationships in Aboriginal domains” (p. 285). Their bodies are “the link to people, country, spirits, herstory and the future and is a positive site of value and affirmation as well as a site of resistance” (p. 285). In this section, I begin with how guides provide background on the ways practices are limited to only men or only women in Aboriginal culture, and then provide examples of the ways guides related this Aboriginal culture to the tourists with a request to change their actions.

People in Australia referenced the roles people play as “business.” In Aboriginal culture, “business” may reference knowledge, sharing of education, ceremony or other practices.

Alice explained that there was women’s business and men’s business and there were things that were never to be discussed in front of men, or the other way around (field notes, pg. 6).

During a cultural tour, the Aboriginal guide, Alice, explained that not only are these things different, they are also “never to be discussed in front of men,” or vice versa. Alice shares Aboriginal beliefs as a performance of “self-exoticizing as the Other” (Bunten, 2008), but she goes even further where not only is the Aboriginal person differentiating herself from the tourist, she creates further levels of differences between tourists and the Aboriginal male and female. Interestingly, this homogenizes the tourists as one group and creates more complexity for the Aboriginal identity.

Besides rules about speaking about men’s or women’s business, there are also boundaries around the types of practice each gender is capable of seeing or taking part. At the Gallery of New South Wales, a docent named Katherine explained an issue with the Papunya Tula exhibit:

1971-1974 was the beginning of permanent Aboriginal art. Before that there was no Aboriginal art market. This was the beginning of the adults painting their stories. The Papunya Tula cooperative was formed. These paintings were problematic because some people said these stories should not be told to outsiders, or that these were men’s stories that should not be seen by women or kids. Even in this collection at the Gallery, Papunya people came through and said that particular pieces of art should not be displayed. These pieces of art were then taken down and stored away (quote from personal field notes, pg. 12).

Katherine references the shift from Aboriginal people’s paintings as becoming “permanent” when they moved from being on bodies or in the sand, to acrylic paintings on bark or canvas. The docent goes on to explain that these permanent paintings are of the adults’ stories. The issue that is presented here is one where the practice of the art changing has brought about new problems, in this case, the cultural product being on display in a way that is not protected any

more. Once the paintings were done on canvas and displayed in the very public space of an art gallery, the paintings become “problematic” due to their exposure in a context that was not Aboriginal (“stories should not be told to outsiders”), and that these “were men’s stories that should not be seen by women or kids.” This last statement clearly marks the boundary between the visual subjects and symbolism within the men’s painting, and the believed inappropriateness of women or children viewing them. We are reminded that these “secretive” stories exist within the symbols that are the subject of the painting. The point that is most telling of the seriousness of this Aboriginal belief of “gendered visibility” is that the gallery did remove the art and respected the practice (“these pieces of art were then taken down and stored away”).

These last two examples were meant to give some background on the ideas of gender roles in Aboriginal art and culture, and how they were described and taught to tourists. I now turn to the ways that Aboriginal women discussed the gendered expectations of the performances with a didgeridoo. First, I return to Alice, the guide that defined the segregation of men and women’s business above.

Alice said that there were also customs that should never be done by women or by men. For example women should never use the didgeridoo. She said she would never even touch a didgeridoo because she knows it is a man’s instrument. It is also because it is a phallic shape and the act is somewhat sexual so women should never be seen doing this. She also tells the tourist women to not do it as it is disrespectful to the Aboriginal customs (personal field notes, pg. 6).

The act of using a didgeridoo entails holding the instrument with two hands due to its long shape, and blowing in one end to create a sound. Alice is relating the blowing on a didgeridoo to the act of fellatio. The guide then turns the focus to the tourists. In considering the gender roles that have been described to tourists, it is reasonable to hear this explicit request of respect as relating to Aboriginal beliefs of what men or women should / should not do. At the same time, the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990) has “been normatively male, that is to say, it is conceived as being

structured by voyeurism,” where sexual pleasure is gained “by looking at the sexual attributes or actions of others” (Craik, 1997, p. 130). In this context, the presentation of common tourism practices where tourists are called up from an audience to play a didgeridoo is especially objectifying for both the women, and the highly sacred Aboriginal instrument (Yunupingu, 1997).

Callie also mirrored this feeling of disrespect. When I asked her during a Question and Answer session in our tour about her thoughts on Aboriginal culture being used in tourism, she mentioned:

The didgeridoo becomes like a comic show, but you see it all over. But the didgeridoo is only in the Northern Territory and it is not for women but a men’s tool. The worst thing is men hand the didgeridoo to women and say ‘have a blow’. It makes me want to pull my hair out (quote from personal field notes, pg. 79)

Callie points out the inaccurate representation of Aboriginal culture, in this case the didgeridoo being placed in regions that have not actually used it. Neuenfeldt (1997) explains that the didgeridoo’s meaningfulness in the desert is not based on “what it was made to be (a musical instrument of Aboriginal culture) but rather what it has come to be (the nexus of complex social relations and an ethnographic object entangled in culture and commerce)” (p. 120). The tourism industry has a common practice of over-generalizing and essentializing Aboriginal culture, which we have seen done linguistically with the Dreamtime (Wolfe, 1991), and also exemplified here through the didgeridoo. The commodity for tourism is more important than the historical use or meaning of the object.

The second issue highlighted by Callie is the matter of the didgeridoo being used incorrectly. When she explains that “the worst thing is men hand the didgeridoo to women and say ‘have a blow’,” she is also referencing the tourism performances that encourage audience members to come and participate in playing the instrument. She also makes it clear that it is men

putting women in this position. Callie does not explain specifically who the “men” are who are disrespecting the practice, or whether they are Aboriginal or not. She continued:

She said “don’t quote me, but this is a major infringement in some communities where I believe women have been killed if they were seen with the didgeridoo.” If women go to the wrong place they may get raped for encroaching. Rape is not a big issue here but there are serious laws (pg. 79).

In this case, when Callie says “don’t quote me,” it is a discursive strategy to say that she was not confident in her statement here or may not remember it correctly; however, she makes a significant statement on the seriousness of going against cultural practices and beliefs. There are strict rules being broken when Aboriginal beliefs are not upheld. In her memory, she believes “women have been killed if they were seen with a didgeridoo.” Whether this statement is true or not is beside the point; the fact that her interpretation is so strong and includes a severe punishment is meaningful. This contrast between getting killed for using the didgeridoo and being raped for going where a woman should not encroach is significant. By placing these two understood Aboriginal rules next to each other, Callie is drawing similarities of the consequences between the two, and the seriousness of women acting outside of their designated gender roles.

Callie does make it clear that the use of the didgeridoo in tourism makes her angry, by claiming, “it makes me want to pull my hair out.” Her expression of frustration is not clear as to whether it is the problematic performance of women with didgeridoos, or whether it is the sexualization of the instrument which presents an Aboriginal cultural artifact as if it is “a comic show.” When the Aboriginal artifact becomes the object of spectacle, the male-centered “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990) objectifies the “sight, site or experience for the gratification and pleasure” of himself (Craik, 1997, p. 131). These ways of looking place the tourist in the position of power, where the objects on display are purely for entertainment or the guests’ enjoyment. Callie’s

anger and frustration is in response to the Aboriginal culture being objectified and stereotyped, and is a way of demanding respect.

Both Alice and Callie have explained ways gender expectations function in Aboriginal culture, and each has emphasized the disrespectful nature of women going against this Aboriginal expectation, even if she is not an Aboriginal person.³¹ They ask for non-Aboriginal people or outsiders to respect Aboriginal customs and beliefs. Returning to Yunupingu's (1997) discussion at the beginning of the section, Aboriginal people do recognize that the didgeridoo has been taken up in other contexts. Barwick (1997) offers several examples of different Aboriginal people, from a variety of geographic locations, as accepting the casual playing, and even occasional public performances, of the didgeridoo by Aboriginal women (pp. 90-92), and states that "it seems clear then, that reports of a traditional 'taboo' on women playing didgeridoo have been greatly exaggerated" (p. 92). Whether the guides also are purposefully exaggerating or not, they have used the Aboriginal "rules" of gender roles, especially as they pertain to the didgeridoo, to support their request for respect of culture.

While we have seen narratives framing what should be women's "business" or men's "business," or men or women's stories to paint, the roles are not always so clearly defined:

Marika & Yunupingu > artists who were both very active in Aboriginal rights. They were very influential in Australian Aboriginal Society. Mawalan Marika (father) gave permission to daughter (Banygul Marika) to do bark painting using men's topics. Normally this would never be allowed for women. (information by docent Katherine, personal field notes, pg. 14).³²

³¹ According to Barwick (1997), "Many Aboriginal people in southern Australia hold to a view that a taboo exists against women playing the didgeridu, agree that it is inappropriate for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women to play the instrument, and associate such uses with broader issues of loss and dispossession" (p. 95).

³² Information of Marika teaching traditional male art to his daughters can also be found here: <http://artsearch.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?IRN=38107>.

While women painting stories that typically belong to men were (and possibly still are) very uncommon, this mention of Mawalan Marika teaching his daughter to paint their stories demonstrates that there could be flexibility in the Aboriginal gender roles.

That said, the Northern Aboriginal people's tolerance of women playing the didgeridoo could be attributed to the fact that their "indigenous languages and culture are less under threat" where the didgeridoo was traditionally played, and Southern Aboriginal people seem to have different attitudes towards protecting their culture due to their "widespread experience of loss of land, language and culture and the extraordinary efforts that people have made to protect what knowledge remains" (Barwick, 1997, p. 95; see also Langton, 1993). Aboriginal people have different amounts of cultural value at stake. Alice's tour was in the south and Callie's tour was in the north. Interestingly, Callie explicitly stated:

...her family was lucky in not losing a lot of their culture, as the Lutheran missionaries who came to the area were tolerant of Aboriginal culture (personal field notes, July 19, 2013).

I argue then that in this case, the real issue is not so much the specific gender roles as they pertain to the didgeridoo, but that both Alice and Callie are demanding respect for Aboriginal culture in general, and the use of the gender role discourses provides an avenue within tourism that is both sharing culture, and illustrating the types of appropriation and commodification that take place. The individual Aboriginal groups have already been homogenized and blended together in representations of dominant tourism narratives as we can see here with the didgeridoo, which has become "a metonym for Aboriginal culture or indigeneity as an abstract whole" (Neuenfeldt, 1997, p. 108); and we have also seen the same homogenization through the examples of the linguistic use of the word "Dreamtime." In this way, the request for respect of Aboriginal culture is also asking for Aboriginal culture to not be lost to non-Aboriginal people

through cultural stealing (Barwick, 1997, p. 95; Neuenfeldt, 1997, p. 119). One way to limit the Aboriginal icon of the didgeridoo as representing all Aboriginal people would be to limit where it plays a role in the tourism industry overall, and one way to provide more agency for the Aboriginal people is to maintain and preserve their role in playing it.

Discussion

Throughout the Government Tourism Authority websites, there is a clear emphasis on difference when it comes to the representations of Aboriginal Australians. This is the “contemporary ‘culture industries of otherness’,...[which are] the global industries that capitalize upon the elaboration, representation and display of cultures, places, and the world” (Favero, 2007, p. 52). As the tourism industry markets its unique cultures and diversity to outsiders the presentation of difference is particularly striking when we examine the discourses about Aboriginal Australians in the context of tourism expectations compared to the unmarked Australian. The tourism imaginaries are produced for tourists’ anticipations to believe they can access Aboriginal people and their culture to the fullest and at a whim. As Said (1979) states, “texts can *create* not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe” (p. 94). The dominant narrative becomes the authority for outsiders’ knowledge, and maintains the status quo of power differential.

Through Tourism Australia’s websites, Aboriginal people and their culture are a significant “product” that the tourism industry is selling, both through experiences of deeper knowledge and spirituality. In contrasting the tourists’ day-to-day lives to the experiences promised in Australia, Tourism Australia goes as far as presenting the pretense of “indigenization” (Goldie, 1989) in order for tourists to fully be able to “get away from it all.” By

seeing the land “through Aboriginal eyes,” tourists can truly experience and understand Aboriginal spirituality, even in a brief encounter. Tourism Australia discursively acts as the gatekeeper, making promises of a limitless accessibility and appropriation of Aboriginal culture for outsiders.

The guides’ narratives have demonstrated that they are functioning in the tourism industry where there is a pressure to conform to the tourism imaginaries and expectations in some way. However, there are clear areas of departure from the dominant tourism discourses of unlimited access to personal and spiritual knowledge, and associations with personal space. First, the guides responded to the tourism imaginaries by providing basic levels of information regarding Aboriginal culture. The guides inform tourists of elements of the “Dreamtime” but then produce another version of an imaginary: one where Aboriginal language is both reinstated and commodified. This can be considered as the guides “playing” with culture, offering a certain amount of information to perform to a tourist audience, but then also correcting the dominant narratives of “Dreamtime” and resisting the representation and denotation of the English term.

Second, the guides used Aboriginal culture as an access point to share information about Aboriginal traditional gender roles, but ultimately used this same information to request respect from tourists and within the tourism industry. The discussion of the didgeridoo also emphasizes regional and group differences between Aboriginal people, and resists the standard homogenization of the “Other.”

The guides explicitly state that there is information that is off limits to the tourists. This was a recurring theme through the discourses by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal guides in the tours that I experienced. The overall message is one where Aboriginal people fulfill the

tourism imaginary to some degree and perform a commodified version of their own culture, but information is also sacred, personal and accessible *only* to Aboriginal people.

Chapter 4 Bridges and Barriers for Aboriginal Cultural Tourism

In our experience, there are numerous plans advocating for the development of Aboriginal cultural experiences. Numerous plans. The interesting thing about those plans is that Aboriginal were not involved in formulating the plans (interview, Johnny Edmonds,³³ Chief Executive, Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC)).

In an attempt to maintain and produce a distinctive tourism identity, Australia's tourism industry looks to expand its Aboriginal cultural tourism offerings. To fulfill this need, government and the tourism industry encourage Aboriginal people to participate in the tourism industry in some capacity (cf. Northern Territory, Altman, 1989; Tourism Australia, 2014). As Edmonds (2013) explains above, the dominant tourism industry advocates for Aboriginal cultural experiences, but leaves the Aboriginal people out of the planning. This quote acts as a starting point to interrogate the centers of power in the creation of Aboriginal cultural tourism “products,” and to examine the bridges and the barriers in the cultural production. In this chapter, I examine tourism spaces as places of encounter for various tourism stakeholders. I analyze the roles and relationships between participants in the tourism industry and how those intercultural encounters create cultural tourism products. I argue that there are hierarchical structures and gatekeeping devices at multiple levels of the tourism industry: that complicate Aboriginal people's ability to play a role in their own representations as a tourism operator and also shape the cultural production of the tourism industry.

Cultural tourism is a prominent space for learning about other cultures. It has the potential of changing perceptions and attitudes about those who are different than us (Galliford, 2010), and Aboriginal people express the importance of maintaining their culture and educating

³³ At the time of my fieldwork in 2013, Johnny Edmonds was the Chief Executive for Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC). Since then, the structure of WAITOC has changed to a board management structure. During the time of my interview, Edmonds explicitly gave permission to use his real name for the purposes of this research.

non-indigenous people through tourism encounters (Bunten, 2014; Galliford, 2012). Healy (2008) describes the role of Aboriginal people in tourism as a means “to remain connected to or reconnect to country” (p. 200). Paddy Roe, who offers tours of the Lurajarri Trail, has a vision to “teach [his] young fellas” (Paddy Roe in Healy, 2008, p. 200). Healy (2008) explains:

Remembering seems to be a crucial part of enacting this: remembering stories, language, cosmological relationships, skills, family, plants, animals, and so on (p. 200).

Aboriginal people place significance on remembering in a country where they have significantly been forgotten (Healy, 2008). The encounters between tourists and hosts provide each a positive experience from their own perspectives.

During my fieldwork in Australia, I learned of the Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC), that advocates and consults for Western Australia Indigenous Tourism businesses, and builds “relationships between Indigenous tourism operators and State, Federal and private tourism organizations” (WAITOC, 2012, p. 12). WAITOC is a not-for-profit organization and was created through the interests of Western Australia indigenous tourism businesses who came together to form “a cohesive voice to advocate their collective interests” (WAITOC, 2011, p. 2). In WAITOC’s Strategic Plan (2011), the organization declares itself to be “the only Aboriginal owned and operated industry association in Australia” (p. 2). In 2014, WAITOC members voted on a new constitution to include all Western Australia Aboriginal tourism businesses to automatically become “Aboriginal Tourism Business (ATB) members of WAITOC,” which increased the membership to 119 (Haigh, 2014, para. 1). An ATB “means an Aboriginal person, or an entity of which at least 25% of its members are Aboriginal persons” (WAITOC & K&L Gates, 2014, p. 4).³⁴ According to WAITOC (2015), their core values “encompass both traditional and commercial components but are clearly differentiated as

³⁴ According to the WAITOC constitution (2014), “Aboriginal means a person that self identifies as an indigenous Australian” (p. 4).

they give priority to the culturalisation of commerce and not the commercialisation of culture” (p. 5). WAITOC is sponsored by government agencies and Tourism Western Australia.

In 2013, I had the opportunity to interview Johnny Edmonds, the then Chief Executive of WAITOC. In the interview, Edmonds highlights the key principles of WAITOC and discusses some of the primary struggles for Aboriginal people who want to create and participate in the tourism industry. As an Aboriginal owned and operated organization, WAITOC’s key principles are a useful foundation to explore the tangled issues that Aboriginal people encounter when they choose to participate in the tourism industry and will be used to organize themes in this chapter. Overall, I relate the key themes to notions of hierarchies and gatekeeping. This will be explained further below.

It was not my intention to analyze the structures of the tourism industry or compare types of tourism businesses when I began this project. However, in the process of examining competing host discourses, I recognize that the history of Australia and the goals of the Australian tourism industry produce an underlying tension that impacts both the creation of indigenous businesses and also the culture that is produced and made available for outsiders. In this chapter, I draw upon my field notes to explore the varying positions and tensions of the production of tourism businesses and the creation of tours. I also use my interviews with key informants who work in the Australian tourism industry who work to contribute to successful Aboriginal tourism entities and experiences. I argue that the hierarchies within the system are significant to the production of the Aboriginal tourism industry and create a process of culture making that draws upon history and various players’ stakes. The questions that I ask in this chapter are: What are the bridges or barriers for Aboriginal people to create a cultural tourism business? And, what kind of cultural tourism product can we expect to come from the

relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal actors in the tourism industry? I analyze how differences in stakeholders' principles complicate the creation and operation of Aboriginal tourism businesses, and demonstrate potential challenges or strategies used by Aboriginal cultural producers.

WAITOC's (2015) key principles or core values "encompass both traditional and commercial components" and include:

- 1) *Connection to Country*, references the spiritual connection between people and the land;
- 2) *Welcome to Country*, is the "provision of safe passage and reciprocal acknowledgement" for mutual benefit; and,
- 3) *Corroboree*, where people who are different from one another can "come together to share, learn and benefit from each other" (p. 5).

For WAITOC's own work as an intermediary between Aboriginal people and government, Connection to Country provides the foundation for WAITOC's *advocacy* role, Welcome to Country relates to effective *partnerships*, and Corroboree is the notion of *networking* (WAITOC, 2015, p. 5). WAITOC uses language that bridges the cultural principles important to Aboriginal people with the business principles of the government and industry. At the same time that Aboriginal principles are highlighted, the organization discursively creates a link with business practices that is secondary, and places more importance on the Aboriginal ideas. WAITOC focuses on Aboriginal people maintaining their culture and cultural beliefs, and still participating in contemporary ways of business.

Edmonds explained the three principles in this way:

...in that first one, connectivity to country here, that's about a relationship to place, spiritual relationship. The second one is about relationship from people to another people. Hosts to guests. The third one is to all those you are working with, and sharing with, but also acknowledging its not about imposing yourself on somebody else. It's about sharing with them and from you being able to take away from that sharing and they being able to take away from that sharing. It's about relationships—all of them.

Therefore, this chapter is arranged around these three relationships. I begin by discussing the relationship between Aboriginal people and country, and demonstrate how colonization and history are influential in the tourism industry. In the second section, Welcome to Country, I examine how the Aboriginal Welcome to Country and Acknowledgement protocols are traditionally used. I focus on Welcome to Country ceremonies in political arenas as an example of the tensions due to whether politicians will recognize Aboriginal rituals. I argue that the political debates against using Welcome to Country as a symbol of reconciliation are also relevant for tourism. Ultimately, the political and national avoidance of Acknowledgement protocols creates a “tokenism” for tourism that reifies stereotypical representations of Aboriginal people and culture and empties spiritual practices of meaning replaced by mere performance. Finally, in Corroboree, I examine hierarchies in the expectations and relationships between Aboriginal operators and other tourism intermediaries. Here, I explore the gatekeeping mechanisms of the tourism distribution system and the larger tourism industry. I argue that the distribution system is a tangled web that is difficult to navigate and minimalizes Aboriginal people’s ability to have a voice in the dominant industry. This network is especially challenging when stringent requirements are in place to maintain a dominant Australian identity for the international tourism domain.

Before I begin my analysis, I discuss how borderzones and encounter spaces impel cultural production. I then discuss how scholars have examined Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interactions in business or political scenarios, and highlight how I will examine intercultural encounters for this study. I follow with a brief description of my methodological approach.

Literature Review

Encounters and Cultural Production

The term encounter refers to engagements across difference: a chance meeting, a sensory exchange, an extended confrontation, a passionate tryst. Encounters prompt unexpected responses and improvised actions, as well as long-term negotiations with unforeseen outcomes,...(Faier & Rofel, 2014, p. 364).

In the touristic *borderzones* (Bruner, 2005) there is a fluid and changing movement of tourists, and a stationary population of local hosts who change their daily routines to “share” their culture and respond to the tourists’ desires and expectations (p. 192). Bruner (2005) explains the “touristic borderzone” as a place where tourists and hosts are both performers, but:

...the two groups are not the same, because what for the tourists is a zone of leisure and exoticization, for the natives is a site of work and cash income (p. 192).

Bruner gives the impression that the burden of change predominately falls upon the local population, where local people need to maintain the performance of their identity and collaborate in a “touristic coproduction” (Bruner, 2005, p. 193; see also Tonnaer, 2010). This is a site of interaction where culture is produced.

In furthering the discussion of “sharing culture,” Tonnaer (2010) draws upon Bruner’s (2005) concept of the “borderzone” and its impact on the host, and explains that “cultural production itself should also be considered as an interactive process involving both locals and tourists” (p. 22). The notion of “‘sharing culture’ has yielded a ‘shared culture,’” and Tonnaer (2010) suggests the term “encounter culture” (p. 22). With this, the focus is on the intercultural encounter, and:

...all parties involved attach to the ‘sharing of culture,’... [and] the value of the tourist encounter resides not in a sharing of meaning but rather in the sharing of performance, the actual enactment in which self and other become to be defined through their mutual entanglement” (Tonnaer, 2010, p. 21).

Tonnaer's (2010) focus is on the "space between production and reception" (p. 22), and includes tourists, Aboriginal guides, and any other tourism intermediaries (i.e. tourism bureaus, travel agencies, tour operators, etc.) in the production of culture.

In this chapter, my focus shifts to combine elements of Bruner's (2005) touristic *borderzones* and Tonnaer's (2010) "encounter culture." However, I focus exclusively on the spaces of the production of culture through the various hosts, including Aboriginal tour guides or business owners, and other tourism intermediaries that participate in the creation of Aboriginal cultural experiences. While I agree that the interactions between hosts and tourists are significant sites to examine in cultural production, my interest is to understand how power differentials between and across industry producers, along with history and politics, are also substantial in their own right to influence the cultural production of tourism. There are tensions that are present across the industry that effect whether a person can start a business, what that business will be, and what sole control the owner will have over their operation. I argue that the encounters of the unequally positioned tourism players produce Aboriginal tourism "products," but often through a pathway of obstacles, hierarchies and gatekeepers. Those who desire to foreground Aboriginal culture (i.e. Aboriginal cultural tourism business owners or Aboriginal cultural producers) are required to "improvise" to make a place for themselves in tourism, and the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry is still manipulated by the impacts of colonization where Aboriginal people have been forced off of their land. I do not intend for this chapter to outline an Aboriginal people versus non-Aboriginal people or government argument. Instead, I use this space to problematize the many layers of stakes, values and expectations between participants who play a role in the Australian cultural tourism industry.

In tourism, there are a multitude of participants engaged in the encounters that produce the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry. The key participants are broadly situated in economic, political and social power and are influential the cultural production in tourism in a variety of ways. To examine the notion of culture making, Faier and Rofel (2014) discuss the decolonization of anthropology through “ethnographies of encounter.” Rather than culture as a fixed or essential entity, ethnographies of encounter emphasize dynamic processes of “how culture making occurs through everyday encounters among members of two or more groups with different cultural backgrounds and unequally positioned stakes in their relationships” (p. 364). The relationships across difference “produce new cultural meanings, categories, objects and identities” (Faier & Rofel, 2014, p. 363). In Faier and Rofel’s (2014) study, they demonstrate how transnational capitalism, space and place, and human-nonhuman relations are produced through encounters rather than the other way around. The tourism industry has the potential of multiple encounters with key players and can be influential in meaning-making.

Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Interactions for Business

Aboriginal tourism businesses can include Art Centres, bush tucker or kayak tours, walking tours that focus on Aboriginal beliefs and their spiritual stories as they relate to land, dance performances, or other experiential tours that exhibit and tell of cultural objects and tradition. For those who are able to participate in the tourism industry, there is the potential for economic benefit, preservation of culture, education of Aboriginal youth to sustain culture, increased political power and less reliance on government funding (Altman, 1989; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2014). However, Aboriginal people encounter many restraints that limit their access to these socio-economic and political opportunities.

I have found very little research that focuses on the “bridges and barriers” for Aboriginal people to participate in the Australian tourism industry, particularly from a qualitative standpoint. Whitford and Ruhanen (2014) take a similar focus on drivers and inhibitors by interviewing the owners or managers of indigenous tourism businesses in Queensland. My chapter differs from Whitford and Ruhanen’s (2014) research as they focused on individual Aboriginal tour operators only in Queensland, and I focus on the bridges and barriers through hierarchies and gatekeepers at the upper industry level. Their study is significant for my own research in considering how specific elements that Aboriginal tourism operators expect does not align with the support they receive from the larger tourism industry. Whitford and Ruhanen (2014) reveal drivers, where “training and knowledge are deemed the most important, [while] other success factors include community connection, cultural sustainability and commercial experience” (p. 157). On the other hand, the main inhibitor is related to government processes, where they “take too long and opportunities are lost and can’t give community what they want” (p. 158). Even though governments emphasize tourism as a key area of increasing Aboriginal people’s socio-economic standing, tourism operators claim they did not get support through information or access to financial resources (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2014, p. 158). Other educational challenges, such as communication skills and literacy, compound the lack of training and expertise. Their study demonstrated that Aboriginal operators focused more on the indigenous “product” and its uniqueness, but not on marketing that uniqueness and focusing on the foundations that make a business sustainable (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2014). As I look to the “bridges” between Aboriginal tour operators and the government tourism authority, Whitford & Ruhanen (2014) provide important foundations of the disconnect in tourism practices.

Also focusing on tourism, but from a macro perspective, scholars examine the structures and pressures for Aboriginal people to participate in the cultural tourism industry, and emphasize that there are complicated tradeoffs between economic, social, cultural and political positions that pose difficult dilemmas for Aboriginal people and communities (Altman, 1989; Altman & Finlayson, 2003). Altman's (1989) study questions whether Aboriginal people's involvement in the tourism industry actually does increase their economic status and political power, and provides background for my study to understand some of the finer issues at stake for Aboriginal people. Altman (1989) argues, "Aboriginal interests face a tradeoff: whether to become actively and directly involved in tourism in order to control it, or whether to find other means to limit the social costs of tourism" (p. 473). Altman and Finlayson (2003) review research on the impact of Aboriginal communities and recommend policy alternatives that would benefit Aboriginal people more. Their study highlights the minimal scholarly work that has been done in this area.

Another important area of literature for this chapter is research that focuses on the working relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, even when it is not focused on tourism. Batty's (2005) study is significant for my project because it emphasizes how the government has the potential to influence Aboriginal people's identity positions and compliance, not through coercion, but through policy. The Aboriginal and government relationship is examined as an intercultural site of negotiation that both produces Aboriginal subjectivity and maintains the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal partnership. Batty (2005) explores the working relationships of non-Aboriginal people working in Aboriginal organizations primarily in Central Australia, and how policies of Aboriginal self-determination socially produce and maintain mechanisms of government control. Drawing on Foucault's (1980) concept of governmental power relations, Batty (2005) explains that "liberal forms of

government seek an alignment with the aspirations of individual subjects—to *enrol* them in the operations of government itself” (p. 211). In addition, the government policies maintain non-Aboriginal consultation and “expertise” until Aboriginal people became self-sufficient, but lack of skills and interest by Aboriginal people³⁵ has maintained the white advisor in the Aboriginal organization. Even though this study was not focused on tourism, Batty’s (2005) study is useful to consider how issues are not just between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people. There are social and cultural hierarchies within communities that influence who has a say in representing an Aboriginal community, and who can be considered as having Aboriginal authority.

As I have mentioned elsewhere, I do not intend this study to be an intercultural approach of Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal or government. The intercultural spaces of encounter are not so clearly divided. Merlan (2005) uses the “intercultural” term in a way where the “inter-” is “modelled after the ‘inter-’ in intersubjectivity” (p. 169). Merlan (2005) states:

Influential models of subjectivity (Mead, Husserl, Schutz, Habermas) do not begin with a notion of pre-existing ‘subject’ and then try to specify how that subject comes to relate to others. They begin from a notion of interrelationship and its specific moments of interaction as crucial to the on-going formation of subjectivity. Subjectivity is always fundamentally under construction, and always fundamentally relational (p. 169).

Merlan’s conceptualization of intercultural emphasizes interrelationship and interaction as a shaping and changing force of subjectivity. This focus of intercultural as non-binary is significant in this chapter as the subjects, either the Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal participants cannot be predetermined or essentialized to understand intricacies around the production of tourism “products.” Sullivan (2005) demonstrated how limiting one’s view of culture and subjectivity is problematic yet the Australian government commonly takes this position in

³⁵ Batty (2005) gives a much more in-depth explanation of the complexities that prevented the self-determination of the Aboriginal corporate bodies than is necessary for me to explain here for the purposes of this chapter.

governmental policy when looking for proof of Aboriginal land rights. Sullivan (2005) argues that breaking down cultural boundedness does not need to threaten Indigenous or government interests (p. 193). Stepping away from these traditional forms of approaching differences “offers...more congenial ways of conceiving how these may be pursued in all their complexity, rather than circumscribed, re-described and ultimately contained and reduced” (Sullivan, 2005, p. 193). An approach to intercultural processes “needs to assume kinds of difference, not absolute difference or completeness of system; must attempt to understand inter-influence despite apparent separateness; and explore the reproduction and alteration of habit and practice in terms of its social conditions” (p. 174). This view of the definition of intercultural is useful in considering the tourism brokers and intermediaries as interacting in a shared social field, which has shared practices and mutual interests.

The literature that I draw from in this section has focused on individual Aboriginal tourism operators (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2014), relationships between Australian Aboriginal people and non-indigenous people (Batty, 2005; Sullivan, 2005), costs and benefits of the tourism industry (Altman, 1989; Altman & Finlayson, 2003), and an intercultural approach that focuses on interactions and interrelationships as shaping subjectivity (Hinkson & Smith, 2005; Merlan, 2005; Sullivan, 2005). This chapter contributes to the conversation by taking a macro view of tourism rather than focusing on a specific geographic location, where I examine hierarchies through interactions, networks and policies. My focus on Australian Aboriginal people and non-indigenous people’s working relationship is specifically looking at the social field of the tourism industry, where representations and politics highlight complexities and tensions. I draw from my field notes and my participant observation to provide examples and to problematize the multiple layers of participants in the tourism industry. My conversations with

tourism intermediaries also offers another perspective that illuminates “drivers and inhibitors” for Aboriginal tourism operators.

Methodological Approach

This chapter draws on my field notes and interviews that I collected during my time in Australia. My goal in selecting tours and interviewees was focused on learning about how Aboriginal culture and art are used in tourism. Across my field notes and interviews, I recognized a theme of hierarchical structures that influence the cultural production of tourism. In the process of using critical discourse analysis to analyze my field notes and interview data, the theme of resources and barriers for Aboriginal people in the tourism industry emerged across the data. I find this significant, and so it has unexpectedly become an area of focus for me.

I use WAITOC’s key principles to examine the tensions present for Aboriginal people who want to play a role in the dominant tourism industry. I use my field notes primarily as examples to illustrate hierarchical and gatekeeping scenarios across Australia’s tourism industry. The tourism professionals’ interviews are used to support the information on the travel distribution network and international tourism.

For my interviews, my goal in selecting interviewees was to speak with people who could inform me of the structure of Australia’s tourism industry and the available cultural tourism experiences that focused on Aboriginal art or culture. My interviews with tourism and art professionals were considered exempt through the University of Washington Human Subjects Division due to the fact that professionals were only expected to discuss their profession and knowledge about their industry. Before I left for Australia, I sent emails to request interviews to the tourism authorities of the territories or states I knew I would visit. Through the internet, I also

randomly came in contact with Adeline, a tourism professional who owns her own agency, has worked on government boards, and who also connected me with other professionals. Once I was in Australia, I reached out to other professionals working in the area of Aboriginal art or culture and tourism. I interviewed eight professionals in these areas. For the purposes of this chapter, I reference three of those interviews that were professionals working in the tourism industry more broadly, and discussed areas of the tourism industry and how Aboriginal operators played a role. The other five interviews were predominantly focused on the areas of Aboriginal art. This study references these tourism professionals who work/have worked in some ways as liaisons to assist Aboriginal people in the tourism industry.

One of my interviews was with WAITOC, which is an Aboriginal owned tourism organization, and provides the foundation for my analysis. One of the interviews was with Jillian,³⁶ a professional in Tourism Australia, and one was with Adeline, who has actively worked in several different positions across Australia to promote Aboriginal people's participation in the industry. Therefore, the cited interviews are with the umbrella level of tourism professionals who work between the individual tourism operators and the upper management and executives of the government tourism authority. As Edmonds described WAITOC as a "bridge," each of the other tourism professionals/organizations I interviewed may also be considered as potential bridges between individuals and the larger national industry.

Due to my focus on Aboriginal art and culture within tourism, I did not approach the interviews (or the participant observation situations) with the intention of understanding the resources or barriers that may exist for Aboriginal people to participate in the tourism industry.

³⁶ Besides Edmonds, all tourism professionals' names have been changed to maintain anonymity.

Therefore, the questions that I asked were much more general and not focused on the specifics of business practices, licensure, funding or government resources or monitoring.

I now turn to my analysis organized around the three core principles of WAITOC and their corresponding tensions: Connection to Country; Welcome to Country; and Corroboree.

Connection to Country: Aboriginal Relationship to Land

From [the Aboriginal people's] point of view, what they're actually sharing is their connectivity... in the Aboriginal perspective connectivity back to country... The reason for the importance on that—and this is really a pan-indigenous thing, I believe—the importance of connectivity is because of the [importance] of identity. It's their connectivity to place. It provides them identity. And often there are objects, places that reinforce their identity (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

In my interview, Johnny emphasized “connectivity” to country as a main point that Aboriginal people want to share with others. Because connectivity is such a significant foundation of Aboriginal tourism, Johnny explained that in his view generally:

...there are two kinds of Aboriginal... enterprises that have actually taken place. The one kind which is being in place, and probably was the forerunner...is the kind of Aboriginal tourism enterprise which is actually taking place on their country... And by their country, I'm talking about where they have tenure to the country, because of course that's a major issue... in Australia—and other places as well—about not having tenure to land that from their point of view has always been theirs...the impact of colonization... The other kind of development though, which is really quite interesting and one would say it's more entrepreneurial; it's where Aboriginal people still have ancestral connections to lands...but they do not have tenure to land. It's been confiscated from them in the past, so they don't have physical use of land...[and] cannot operate in the same way as other Aboriginal language groups which have tenure over their land (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Johnny's explanation of these two general types of Aboriginal tourism brings forth many issues and complications, which I discuss in this section. I use WAITOC's theme of connectivity to land to discuss tensions in Aboriginal people's participation in tourism as it pertains to land tenure. First, I expand on the idea of “access” and tenure over the land, and then examine how

those without tenure need to create relationships in order to participate in tourism to share “connectivity.” I argue that Aboriginal people’s ability to participate in the tourism industry, whether through their own tenure of land or not, is still tied to colonial laws and hierarchical relationships. I conclude this section with a discussion of the presentation of Aboriginal culture, and how access to culture can be another area of struggle in the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry. I argue that Aboriginal hierarchical systems influence cultural tourism through political decisions and limiting what culture can be shared with outsiders.

Access to Country

In Australia, as has also happened elsewhere, colonization has removed people from their native lands. Aboriginal people consider themselves as traditional owners of the land, but their meaning of “ownership” is much different than Western definitions. The term “country” is:

...used to refer to one’s territory/land of origin or a person connected to the same piece of land. Indigenous people’s sense of belonging is derived from an ontological relationship to country derived from the Dreaming, which provides the precedents for what is believed to have occurred in the beginning in the original form of social living created by ancestral beings (Moreton-Robinson, 2000, 2003).

Aboriginal people have significant relationships to their own country and care for the land to ensure that it will continue to provide nourishment for the people (Rose, 1996). However, Aboriginal people “are no longer the sole possessors of [their] ancestral lands [that were] taken by conquest, cessation, or as *terra nullius* (the land belonging to no one)” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. xx).

The *Native Title Act 1993*, which “addresses the rights of indigenous peoples to land in Australia,” places the burden of proof on Aboriginal people to prove that they have had “a prior and continuing association with the land they are claiming by producing evidence of the

maintenance of traditional religion, community structures and relations to land” (Lane & Waitt, 2001, p. 388). Moreton-Robinson (2015) emphasizes that the proof of land rights is based “in accordance with the white legal structure” and privileges the written word (p. 16). Aboriginal people wanting to reclaim their lands “must be able to substantiate their oral histories with documents written by white people, such as explorers, public servants, historians, lawyers, anthropologists, and police” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 16). Considering the majority of Australia’s population lives along its coastlines, there are many lands that Aboriginal people can never reclaim, and even in those areas where *Native Title* may be applied, the burden of proof is complicated through differences in culture and history.

For those who have been able to claim *Native Title*, there are opportunities for Aboriginal people to participate in tourism enterprises on their own country. According to Johnny:

Aboriginals themselves—and this is something that has been... highly pronounced here in Australia—will not operate a business about connectivity to place, in a place that isn’t theirs. Which from an industry’s point of view is *fantastic*, because of course what the industry at large is trying to do, like Australia, is try to differentiate itself from every other place in the world (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Edmonds emphasizes the double edge of Aboriginal cultural tourism. On one hand, Aboriginal people provide Australia’s tourism industry with a means of differentiation because their culture is inherently tied to country. On the other hand, the opportunities for Aboriginal people to “self-determine” or make a path for their own success is closely tied to their history as colonized and displaced peoples. The “ethnographies of encounter” (Faier & Rofel, 2014) in this situation emphasize the cultural, political and social differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Even for Aboriginal people with tenure to their land, the economic need emphasizes the “unequally positioned stakes” (Faier & Rofel, 2014, p. 364) and places Aboriginal people in the position to commodify their own difference for the tourism industry. In other words, if

Aboriginal people are lucky enough to gain tenure to their land, their participation in the tourism industry seems straightforward because they have access to their country. At the same time, when Edmonds states that the industry appreciates that Aboriginal people will only operate a business when they have connectivity, and this is a way to differentiate Australia, the tourism industry gives the impression of expectations that Aboriginal people will open their lands to tourists. For the industry, Aboriginal people's belief in connectivity and their physical lands are taken up as commodities to market.

A key aspect of *Native Title* states the need for proof of the continuous connection to land, which can be difficult to prove, "especially where there has been widespread urbanization or agricultural development, both of which extinguish native title" (Korff, 2016, para. 8). This means that lands that may be claimed under *Native Title* are:

...usually of low commercial value because it is remote from urban areas, which requires land owners to live away from mainstream work opportunities. Hence ongoing traditions, which are required to claim the land, and hold it, geographically disadvantage Aboriginal [landholders]" (Korff, 2016, para. 16).

The lands that can typically be reclaimed through *Native Title* are remote, and people who live on those lands would either need to travel a distance to find work or find another means of income. To return to the idea that those who are landholders are able to create tourism enterprises, it is not a realistic endeavor across Australia as a whole. As Korff (2016) has described the geographic locations of some of these lands, those Aboriginal people who do have tenure to their land are more likely than not to be at a distance from primary tourism destinations.

Adeline explains:

...we now understand there's a lot of businesses that are based in parts of Australia that international tourists don't necessarily get to, ... but they're still good little businesses and they do pick up passing [traffic]. So there's part of that...we looked at different categories that they could be marketed in. So some of them are direct to consumers that would never get marketed to the trade (recorded interview, Adeline).

Not only can Aboriginal landholders be geographically disadvantaged due to their distance from mainstream work opportunities, but in some cases, land tenure can also disadvantage those who want to play a role within the cultural tourism industry. Adeline has explained here that those remote tourism businesses would be marketed directly to consumers, which means that they would not play much of a role in international tourism. By being outside of mainstream travel destinations, Aboriginal people's businesses are unable to work with the larger industry distribution networks to expand the marketing of their business.

In this section, I have demonstrated that tenure to country is not easy for Aboriginal people to achieve even in remote areas because it is based on Western notions of proof of history. I suggest that while tenure to country may be beneficial for some Aboriginal people to participate in the tourism entrepreneurship, it is not necessarily a clear-cut answer when examining Aboriginal land issues across the larger area of Australia. In addition, the industry expectations for those with tenure to country positions Aboriginal people to contribute to their own emphasis of difference for the tourism industry.

Building Relationships Due to Lack of Access to Country

For those who do not have tenure to land, the approach to sharing their "connectivity" to land needs to take a different road. If connectivity will only be associated with the Aboriginal's own country (Edmonds, 2013), then Aboriginal people have had to find other means to have access to the lands that their stories, spiritual beliefs and practices belong. As Johnny stated, these are interesting developments though, "and one would say it's more entrepreneurial" (Edmonds, 2013).

One example of this type of entrepreneurship is a tour that I attended in Perth at Kings Park. The Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority, which is a Western Australian State Government authority, manages King’s Park and Botanic Garden (bgpa.wa.gov.au/about-us). The Indigenous Heritage Tours offers a walking tour through Kings Park, and provides the history and cultural information about the Wadjuk and Nyoongar people (indigenouswa.com). While these are the traditional lands for these Aboriginal language groups, they cannot claim Aboriginal tenure to the land because the government authority owns it, and Aboriginal business owners need to “operate off land tenure, which is often... a form of public tenure” (Edmonds, 2013). In other words, Aboriginal operators need to function as a business concession on their historical lands because they will never be able to claim land tenure to a public park in an urban area. Edmonds explained:

...it’s happening much more widely because of relationships with organizations—[that] often have a public, or community, or collective interest—that has the rights over use of lands (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

In this example, the government authority positions Aboriginal people who want to have a tourism business relating to their country in a sort of “lending” or “leasing back”³⁷ of land in order to share their “connectivity” with tourists.

This situation of Aboriginal people’s lack of tenure forces a business relationship between the perspective Aboriginal business owner and those who have control over the traditional lands. Edmonds continues:

He has a concession back with that stature authority... [and] the realities are, in terms of the actual experience from the visitors’ viewpoint, that’s of little relevance (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

³⁷ Edmonds (2013) also stated these lands are “purportedly owned by government,” using the term “purportedly because Aboriginals would dispute that” (recorded interview).

Edmonds emphasizes that these types of business transactions are really “behind the scenes” when there is little relevance for tourists. The tourists may only be concerned with the tour being available, and its convenience in an urban location and tourism amenities. The Parks Authority benefits from the Aboriginal cultural tour that is distinctive in this particular area when the Aboriginal operator is able to provide specific cultural information about that piece of land and the water that surrounds it. The Aboriginal business exists as a concession, just as we commonly think of any other food stand or trinket shop on public tourism grounds.

For the Aboriginal person, the onus is unequally weighted, where the tour owner needs to leverage relationships with government entities to have access to land. Edmonds (2013) has emphasized the importance of the “connectivity” to land is significant for Aboriginal identity. Yet, when I asked Edmonds whether it is difficult for the average Aboriginal person to initiate these types of relationships to start a concession, the response was similar to Whitford and Ruhanen’s (2014) explanation of Aboriginal tourism inhibitors. Edmonds exclaimed that WAITOC’s research has shown that there are many types of institutions and planning authorities, but as I quoted Edmonds at the opening of this chapter, Aboriginal people are not involved in the formulation (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds). Edmonds continued:

There’s a strong expectation or aspiration from non-Aboriginals for these experiences to be available... And quite widely...the issue appears to be the lack of engagement—or a fickle engagement—with Aboriginal communities. So we have all these aspirational plans, which do not necessarily build in the aspirations of the Aboriginal people (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Whitford and Ruhanen (2014) demonstrate that Aboriginal people in Queensland believe they are not getting government support through information or funding, and clearly the same is true in Western Australia. The governments’ “fickle” engagement seems to oscillate between encouraging Aboriginal people to participate in the tourism industry, and then not carrying

through with building those relationships with Aboriginal people. By taking Aboriginal people out of the planning stage, this (re)positions Aboriginal people as a commodity or “product” that is expected to perform within the tourism industry.

When social institutions do not acknowledge all parties and their differences, conflicts are likely to occur. In a study comparing narratives of Aboriginal people, non-Aboriginal pastoralists and conservation land managers around fire management, Maclean (2009) reveals how limitations of knowledge “cannot be divorced from social systems” (p. 460). The Desert Fire project “illustrated the importance of developing processes that embrace and celebrate the various knowledge cultures and livelihood challenges faced by land managers from the different land tenures” (p. 460). There was not one answer or one system that was agreed upon by everyone. Maclean draws upon (2009) Howitt’s (2001) move from shallow “wedge politics”:

towards a more complex, constructive and inclusive ‘edge politics’ that grapples with ambivalence, uncertainty, change, overlap and interaction in ways that dislodge the old-style colonial metaphors of empty spaces, and frontier heroics (p. 234).

According to Maclean (2009), differing and conflicting perspectives should be celebrated in order to create the potential for dialogue and discussion (p. 460). In doing so, the intercultural groupings are broadened from essentialized cultures and knowledge bases, to a more nuanced approach of acknowledging that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people “exist in relational social and cultural spaces and places” (p. 460). If some participants’ perspectives are silenced, there is no way to move forward with successful relationships and outcomes.

Just as intercultural understanding and relationships are often bounded and configured by differences of self-other, they are also structured through differences in power. Rose (1999) states:

A critical feature of the system is that the ‘other’ never gets to talk back on its own terms. The communication is all one way, and the pole of power refuses to receive the feedback

that would cause it to change itself, or to open itself to dialogue. Power lies in the ability not to hear what is being said, not to experience the consequences of one's actions, but rather to go one's own self-centric and insulated way (p. 176-7).

Rose discusses environmental ethics and land rights, and points to the reaffirmation of one's own beliefs when that is all that is heard (1999). When the tourism industry and planning institutions produce and perpetuate expectations for Aboriginal cultural tourism and Aboriginal people, yet do not include them in the development; they are also perpetuating this self-centric, insulated power loop. Rose continues to discuss the "self" in the system:

...talks endlessly to itself, and, not surprisingly, finds continual verification of itself and its world view. This is monologue masquerading as conversation, masturbation posing as productive interaction; it is a narcissism so profound that it purports to provide a universal knowledge when in fact its violent erasures are universalizing its own singular and powerful isolation (Rose, 1999, p. 177).

In the social field of the tourism industry, Aboriginal people without tenure to land are in a difficult position to leverage relationships when the larger structures promoting and regulating tourism are not creating a dialogue to make changes. Just like Maclean (2009) argued with the fire management project, management and community "must seek to deliver practical strategies that embrace" the politics that recognize cultural differences and hybridity. The tourism industry must also ensure equitable and sustainable relationships. I continue this conversation of Aboriginal peoples' need to form relationships across the industry with the following examples related to Uluru.

Forms of Relationships Through the Return and Government Lease of Uluru.

The example of Kings Park is useful in considering the multiple stakeholders that can influence the creation, accessibility and promotion of Aboriginal cultural tourism businesses.

Other locations, such as Uluru³⁸ (i.e. Ayers Rock and the Red Centre), also foreground the complications of Aboriginal access to land. Uluru is a large landmass that raises 348 meters in the middle of the very flat Red Centre of Australia. It is known for its spiritual significance for Aboriginal people, and there are many Dreaming stories that relate to its creation. Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is a World Heritage Area, and is “dual-listed by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) for outstanding natural values and outstanding cultural values” (parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/people-place/heritage.html, para. 1). Nearby, Ayers Rock Resort, which is located in Yulara³⁹, has several different types of accommodations, tours and activities available. The cultural production and presentation of the national park and its surrounding areas is produced by and through the encounter of these many different participants: Aboriginal people, National Park employees, UNESCO’s organization and their standards, resort management and employees, and of course, the perceived expectations of the tourists.

The culture of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is also influenced by its ownership and management system. The Northern Territory is distinct in land ownership compared to other locations where the tourism industry is dependent on access to land, and Uluru is one of two parks that is owned by Aboriginal people (Altman, 1989, p. 459). In 1983, the government announced:

...it would amend the Aboriginal Land Rights Act and return the title to the traditional owners. The land was to be leased back to the Australian Parks and Wildlife Service⁴⁰

³⁸ Uluru, then called Ayers Rock, became a national park in 1950.

³⁹ Yulara was built to provide accommodations, fuel and food for the many visitors and employees who come to Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. The resort “employs about 910 staff, including hospitality professionals recruited from all over the world and over 273 Indigenous employees, some of who have passed through the ranks of the Resort’s visionary training and employment scheme” (ayersrockresort.com.au/around-the-resort/about-ayers-rock-resort/an-oasis-in-the-middle-of-the-desert).

⁴⁰ The Australian Parks and Wildlife Service is now the Director of National Parks. The lease back to the Director of National Parks is for 99 years.

and run under a system of joint management with a Board of Management represented by a majority of *Anangu* traditional owners (Australian Government Parks Australia, 2013, para. 4).

Uluru was returned to the traditional owners on October 26, 1985, and each year there are celebrations commemorating that day. According to the Uluru-kata Tjuta National Park Fact Sheet (2013), the handover and lease-back “formally acknowledged *Anangu* ownership of the park while at the same time recognizing the value of their land as a park of national significance” (para. 6). The joint management is a partnership between *Anangu* and Parks Australia. The Parks Australia website (2013-2016) states:

Now we are living together, white people and black people. We are working together, white and black, equal. Everything at Uluru and Kata Tjuta is guided by Tjukurpa, our law. *Anangu* (parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/people-place/amazing-facts.html).

This statement communicates a mutually beneficial relationship on many accounts and is particularly significant in its discourses of equality. The message of living and working together equally is understood as from the “Anangu” people’s perspective, as it is signed “Anangu.” The joint management statement is located on the National Parks webpage, which is a government site. When the Aboriginal Board of Management leases the park back to the Director of National Parks for 99 years, both parties can benefit from these types of discourses of partnerships and equality between “white and black.” However, that does not mean there is an equal voice in the relationships between the various parties.

The tourism industry creates a type of push-pull tension in the relationships between the parties involved. Altman (1989) explains the paradox of the Director of National Parks leasing back and running the park service:

...while the NT Government vehemently opposed Aboriginal land rights and the running of some of its national parks by the federal government, it is dependent on Aboriginal interests if its developmentalist policies, at least in the tourism arena, are to be implemented (Altman, 1989, p. 460).

Altman explains that the government agencies have a different idea of “developmentalism” than the Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people who live in the NT would be considered more “anti-developmentalism” because their perspective of developmentalism does not just focus on economic or material growth, but “involves social and cultural issues, the potential for increased political power, and the possibility of widened future options” (Altman, 1989, p. 460). To emphasize the “inter-” of the intercultural relationships (Merlan, 2005) in the Uluru lease-back situation, I use this section to examine the owner/lessor perspectives on the significance of Uluru—the red rock itself—and the mutual, but different, interests at work. Aboriginal tenure of country does not necessarily equate to total control of country with a government partnership in a tourism destination.

One activity of the Uluru-kata Tjuta National Park region that exemplifies differing perspectives as it relates to culture is the Uluru climb. Aboriginal people state that it has spiritual significance. Travelers come from all over the world with plans to “climb the rock,” and t-shirts and postcards are sold to announce the feat. Some visitors consider the climb a spiritual pilgrimage (Marcus, 1997). When I first arrived at Uluru on a guided bus tour, the guide broached the subject as we were driving through the gates of the National Park.

Does anyone want to climb Uluru? We need to pass on for the [unclear] people that it is a sacred place and they encourage you to not climb it for your own safety. (quotes of Karley in personal field notes, pg. 41)

Karley briefly mentions the “sacred place” before she discourages climbing “for your own safety.” The reason for the danger is not mentioned, and one could infer that the danger comes from the sacredness of the place due to the order of the phrasing, and the vagueness of the quote. We also recognize that Uluru clearly has a reputation for climbing, which could be due to the

merchandise that tourists purchase and circulate; word of mouth or it is potentially marketed in certain tourism areas as a possible activity.

Other discussions combined the emphasis of sacredness around Uluru and the lack of knowledge of those sacred sites by outsiders. One example of the spiritual focus is in this discussion between several tourists and Toby, a non-Aboriginal guide. I stated that I had heard of the potential of turning Uluru into a commercial enterprise, equivalent to climbing the Sydney Bridge. The guide stated that he had not heard of the climb becoming commercial, but explained his understanding to an end to the climbs approaching:

There is already a plan that there will be no more climbs after [2020]. There was a lady who was in a workshop who thought they were coming to climb until she heard that it was culturally insensitive. He thought this was amazing and exactly the purpose of Aboriginal people's art teaching others... even outsiders. (quote by Toby and the author's comments in personal field notes, pg. 50)

This guide ran one of the dot-painting workshops. He describes a situation where he met a woman in a workshop who came to Uluru with the idea that "they were coming to climb". Toby gives the impression that she changed her mind stating, "*until* she heard that it was culturally insensitive" (emphasis my own). This is one example of someone not realizing the cultural significance of the area for the local Aboriginal people, but taken in context of the multiple quotes from guides explaining the sacred or cultural significance in my own field notes, it is clearly something that guides believe to be important to share. It is also worth saying that there were also T-shirts for sale that say "I did not climb Uluru." From these guides' statements we learn of the Aboriginal spiritual beliefs about Uluru, and that tourists may not be informed of the cultural insensitivity of climbing "the rock."

Toby is referring to the management plan put forward by the National Park Board of Management in 2010, which includes traditional owners from within the region and Parks

Australia representatives (Laughland, 2013). The plan states that the climb on Uluru would be closed once one of several requirements were met: one being that the number of climbers equals less than 20% of the tourists visiting (Director of National Parks, 2010, p. 92). According to the manager of visitor and tourism services for the park, Parks Australia conducted two surveys and measured that 636 people climbed (around 17% of visitors) or intended to climb in 2012 (Laughland, 2013, para. 4). During my field work in Australia, I also heard mention that if the climb were to close, the Aboriginal people need to provide more cultural performances and activities to offer other tourist experiences to replace the climb.⁴¹ According to Laughland (2013), originally the management plan stated that only one of three stipulations need to be met for closure of the climb (para. 5). Now, all three need to be met including “new visitor experiences and ensuring natural and cultural experiences were the key reasons for tourists” to visit the park (Laughland, 2013, para. 5). According to Randall, “a respected *Anangu* elder,” the system is a hypocrisy and states, “Parks [Australia] and other organisations claim that ‘we understand your Tjurkurpa,’ but hey, you’re showing nothing but terrible disrespect if you support a system that allows you to climb Uluru” (Bob Randall in Laughland, 2013, para. 7). There is a clear disconnect between the interests of Parks Australia and some of the *Anangu* people.

The Aboriginal people and the National authority’s relationship is a direct example of how cultural tourism is produced, experienced and played out. While some Aboriginal groups want to close the climb, and both guides in the park and the website encourages visitors not to do it, the Director of National Parks is allowing it to remain open and the Board of Management

⁴¹ According to the Australian Government Department of the Environment website, “We won’t permanently close the climb without significant industry consultation and until we have alternative experiences in place for our many visitors. We have committed to giving at least 18 months notice to the tourism industry” (environment.gov.au/topics/national-parks/uluru-kata-tjuta-national-park/management-and-conservation/please-dont-climb).

voted to add to the stipulations in order to change. The relationship (or encounter) between *Anangu* and Parks Australia is producing change. For some Aboriginal people, they want to protect a sacred site. For Parks Australia, they see it as an experience that would be taken away and needs to be replaced by another form of “experience.” The issue is not black and white when the Board of Management is comprised of Aboriginal people and Parks representatives (Laughland, 2013). The hierarchy in this situation emphasizes that even within Aboriginal communities (or across them), there are differences in power, and relationships with other government authorities are influential in giving people more symbolic capital.

The two quotes taken from my own travels happen to be from non-Aboriginal guides, but are representative of the many comments from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people about climbing Uluru across my field notes.⁴² Other narratives suggesting not climbing Uluru included more detailed discourses of danger and environmental damage due to sunscreen and people urinating on top of the rock. As a World Heritage site, *Anangu* and Parks Management, who maintain and care for Uluru-kata Tjuta National Park, must follow protocols of UNESCO’s values.⁴³ According to the Australian Government Department of the Environment website:

Today, *Anangu* work together with park rangers and scientists to look after the land, plants and animals according to traditional law. *Piranpa* (non-*Anangu*) rangers receive training in traditional land management. *Piranpa* rangers bring scientific knowledge to the park. Young *Anangu* are training to be rangers. They are studying science as well as learning from the old men and women (environment.gov.au/node/33661, accessed June 14, 2016).

⁴² See also the Australian Government Department of the Environment website (environment.gov.au/topics/national-parks/uluru-kata-tjuta-national-park/management-and-conservation/please-dont-climb).

⁴³ According to UNESCO (1992-2016), “Inscribing a site on the World Heritage List is not the end of the story. Site managers and local authorities continuously need to work towards managing, monitoring and preserving the World Heritage properties” (whc.unesco.org/en/118/, Accessed June 14, 2016). Regular reporting by the State Parties are submitted to UNESCO.

In positioning the *Anangu* law first, this statement emphasizes that both *Anangu* people and non-Aboriginal people work to implement traditional land management according to traditional law to care for the land. This statement also elevates *Anangu* people's knowledge of the eco-system when they are placed in the position of training *Piranpa*. The second portion of the statement returns to a discourse of shared benefits between the *Anangu* and non-Aboriginal people, where scientific knowledge is used in conjunction with traditional land management. This encounter is described as a learning relationship where both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal are learning from each other. The education and interaction creates a metaphorical "knowledge circle," where Aboriginal elder work with non-Aboriginal to teach them traditional law, and work with Aboriginal children to maintain cultural knowledge. This is presented as an exchange, where then the rangers will teach young *Anangu* children the scientific ways. The government website incorporates the youth into the narrative of the relationship, which offers one impression of a long lasting partnership that will endure for future generations. Alternatively, the *Anangu* are positioning their youth to be sufficient in both traditional and scientific knowledges, where reliance on a partnership with non-Aboriginal people is not as heavily weighted. The *Anangu* elders are encouraging hybridity in the identities of their youths, where traditional knowledge can be perpetuated and future Aboriginal adults may be better positioned in the preservation and protection of this country.

Also notable, Altman (1987) states that even though "community members own the land...they do not gain any substantial direct economic benefits either from employment or increased income" (Altman, 1987, in; Altman & Finlayson, 2003, p. 80). Altman calls for restructured leaseback agreements that guarantee income for the land owners, even without their direct participation in the tourism industry (Altman, 1987, 1988). Another issue that influences

Aboriginal income and control is due to the fact that a lot of the tourism facilities are located in Yulara, the town just outside of the park (Altman, 1989, p. 462). The Northern Territory government and “private sector interests own and control” this area, which “gives them economic control of regional tourism” (Altman, 1989, p. 462). The leaseback and Uluru’s proximity to the main tourism facilities emphasizes how there are other participants in the encounters that also influence the economic, political control and management of tourism, even when they may not be in direct partnership with the Aboriginal communities.

Marcus (1997) also discusses how these other participants in the encounters influence the culture being communicated about the region and the people. Marcus (1997) explains:

The Muṯitjulu⁴⁴ community has some input through their liaison with the National Parks and Wildlife Service, but a great deal of the guiding is done by people who are quite independent of any Aboriginal control. This process ensures that the view of Aboriginal culture and nature that is obtained by tourists is essentially a settler view, one which uses Aboriginal Australians as exemplars of prehistoric society who have access to an ancient knowledge of the land. The reproduction of these images is important to Australian politics of race but it is a theme which is also taken up, elaborated and appropriated by those pilgrims who see Ayers Rock as part of a global system of sacred sites (p. 41).

The relationships between the *Anangu* and the Parks Management may help rectify inappropriate or disrespectful representations of Aboriginal people, but Marcus (1997) explains that there are still participants that fall outside of these other relationship encounters. Outside guides operating in the tourist *borderzones* (Bruner, 2005) have the ability to continue to perpetuate the “primitive” Aboriginal representations, particularly in these spaces around Uluru where Aboriginal spirituality is emphasized. Aboriginal people can work to create relationships to produce and have agency over their representations; but, even just focusing on the “local” area of

⁴⁴ Muṯitjulu is a small Aboriginal community “located inside the boundary of the Uluru-Kata Tjuṯa National Park” (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) website, n.d., Muṯitjulu-community, accessed June 14, 2016). AIATSIS (n.d.) states that the Pitjantjatjara live in the Muṯitjulu community and refer to themselves as *Anangu* (AIATSIS website, Muṯitjulu-community).

Uluru, the expanse of Australian spaces and multiple players in a dominant tourism industry are barriers in maintaining (or regaining) more control.

Access to Culture

While I was staying in Ayer's Rock Resort, I met an Aboriginal man named Samuel who was wearing a shirt with the National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee (NAIDOC) logo. This was during NAIDOC week, which takes place for one week in July. I had been trying to find information on the festivities, but had no luck. I approached the man to ask him about the shirt and he had actually been one of the leaders in the celebrations. We ended up talking about the National Park and tourism. The following are my field notes from our visit:

...even though the resort is Aboriginal owned the CEO is white. I asked whether the board would have say over the CEO. Samuel replied yes, but they are Aboriginal people from elsewhere. They are not even from our community. He said the government has not been helpful. He's hoping it gets better. Aboriginal people getting into tourism there is too much red tape. He said you have to go through a lot of steps. It's like they don't want Aboriginal people to own their own business. I asked if this was the case even in their own community. He said either on or away. It's really different. He has been working for a long time on a tourism program. They even already have all of their permits (personal field notes, July 12, 2013).

Samuel highlights the "inter-" in the intercultural by emphasizing differences *between* Aboriginal people. When he states that the board members are "from elsewhere," this discursively accentuates differences in interests, values or even stakes for the varying Aboriginal groups. Another significant point for Samuel was the "red tape" in the processes of becoming a part of the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry. My conversation with Samuel highlights two key issues pertaining to "access to culture" that I will argue in this section: defining cultural values based on a homogenous Aboriginal identity; and cultural access based on Aboriginal community hierarchies. First, I add to my conversation in chapter 3 where the diggeridoo was

used as an example to show how “Aboriginal” is commonly placed in a “black or white” context for tourism, and Aboriginal people are commonly conceptualized as a homogenous group set against non-Aboriginal. In this chapter, I focus on how when it comes to decision-making and political control, “Aboriginal” does not mean sharing values. Here, the link to Aboriginal people operating on their *own* country is presented as a significant requirement for making decisions on the behalf of another in the same community. Second, Samuel expresses the difficulty in beginning an Aboriginal-owned business. I use this as a starting point to discuss how government permits are not enough, and cultural access for an individual is also governed through Aboriginal communities. Through Edmonds, I connect Samuel’s “red tape” to hierarchies within Aboriginal communities, and argue that the gatekeeping mechanisms within Aboriginal culture perpetuate some Aboriginal representations within tourism.

In the first instance, we return to Johnny’s (2013) comment that Aboriginal people will not operate a business based on their “connectivity” to place when it is not their own country. We can presume that the Aboriginal board is focused on managing, and not performing themselves. When the resort is Aboriginal owned, and there is a white CEO, the Aboriginal management would have say over the CEO and hopefully act in ways that protect the local Aboriginal people’s interests. However, after commenting that the board is from elsewhere, Samuel emphasizes, “They are not even from our community.” This latter statement has the same meaning as the former, where the Aboriginal board members are outsiders. The repetition of the statements highlights Samuel’s concern that perhaps the local Aboriginal people’s interests may not align with those from elsewhere.

Tourism organizations may emphasize “Aboriginal ownership” or an “Aboriginal board,” but Samuel makes it clear that all Aboriginal boards are not created equal because “Aboriginal”

is not a homogenous term. During my fieldwork, several guides critiqued how the didgeridoo was not traditionally used in the Uluru area, and performers were brought in from other areas rather than using local Aboriginal people. It is uncertain whether these Aboriginal cultural practices from other Aboriginal language groups are a direct tie to the Uluru board's decisions. When we understand that objects such as the didgeridoo and the boomerang have come to represent a homogenous Aboriginality and do not allow for specificity between Aboriginal groups (Errington, 2010; Neuenfeldt, 1997), the concept of an "Aboriginal board" can take on the same type of symbolism. Finlayson (1991) states, "Aboriginal enterprises have to accommodate a bureaucratic and popularly held ideal of a homogenous Aboriginal community, and secondly, the role of the Aboriginal family as an influential interest group" (p. 38). Finlayson's (1991) research on the Lake Condah area shows that the lease designated staff positions for Aboriginal employees, but it did not necessarily mean *local* Aboriginal people (p. 42). Therefore, "this raises the important issue of Aboriginalisation (employing Aboriginal people) versus localisation (employing local Aboriginal people" (Finlayson, 1991, in Altman & Finlayson, 2003, p. 82). At Ayers Rock Resort, the workforce has:

...280 Indigenous staff, including 69 trainees, who comprise 34% of its workforce. Just 29 Indigenous staff—not including trainees—are from the local region (Davidson, 2015, para. 16).

Therefore, the common presentation is a "showing" of Aboriginal people. The tourism industry has created an Aboriginalization of the space, even though those people do not have stakes in the local community. If the Aboriginal board is not made up of "local" people who have a stake in that particular country, then the political structure is also Aboriginalized. Just as all Aboriginal communities did not traditionally have the didgeridoo, one Aboriginal person does not necessarily have the same values, ideals and culture as all of the others.

The “ethnographies of encounter” (Faier & Rofel, 2014) emphasize cultural differences and unequal power. Hinkson and Smith (2005) argue that Australian Aboriginal people cannot be placed in a single sociocultural field (p. 163). Hinkson and Smith (2005) state:

Whether authentically traditional, politically resistant and autonomous, impoverished, drunk and demoralized, or aspirational, none of these representations recognizes the fullness and complexity of Aboriginal people’s ways of life, nor the possibility of articulating aspirations that reflect the contradictory experience of colonialism (p. 163).

In many discourses about Australian Aboriginal people, they are framed by their perceived differences (i.e. not contemporary; not urban; not self-determining, etc.), and typically in essentialized ways. The encounters typically become “us and them.

The values within one particular Aboriginal community are not homogenous either. When I interviewed Johnny Edmonds of WAITOC I told him about Samuel’s expressed frustration about starting an Aboriginal business around Uluru. Samuel claims that he has his permits, but there is a lot of “red tape” and “*they* don’t want Aboriginal people to own their own business” (emphasis my own). In this instance, Samuel gives the impression that it is the board or the government that is preventing his progress. Johnny responded:

From an Aboriginal viewpoint there’s two broad...requirements that need to be satisfied if we can get the business going. One is clearly what every other small business actually endures, and that’s all of the [compliance] issues, et cetera... But from an Aboriginal’s viewpoint... especially around that’s a business that’s so rich in culture, now there are cultural protocols as well. You may not be entitled to talk about a particular area, and share that information with people who are not of the community (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Johnny is explaining the cultural and learning hierarchies that exist in Aboriginal communities. I have explained in Chapter 2 that the Dreaming is a spiritual practice that is passed through the generations. For Aboriginal people, this would be traditionally done through passing down family stories, history, culture, spiritual beliefs, and by sharing songs that connect Aboriginal people to their land (cf. Broome, 1994; Myers, 2002; Rose, 1996). Typically, there would be

initiation or coming of age ceremonies where these traditions are passed along (cf. Benterrak, Muecke, & Roe, 1984; Broome, 1994; Myers, 2002). As children grow, the elders decide when they are approved to learn more about the creation stories and their culture. The stories shared with children are often to promote learning and provide morals of stories, such as “always listen to your parents” or “don’t be greedy” (quote from Alice, an Aboriginal guide, personal fieldnotes). As people get older and go through different levels of maturity, they are able to learn more about the creation stories. However, when it comes to sharing this information with outsiders, different rules apply. It is common to hear that Aboriginal paintings are of Dreamtime stories, but there are also spiritual topics that Aboriginal people were not willing to share with non-Aboriginals. Warlimpirrnga Tjapaltjarri stated in an interview about his New York art show, “My land, my country,” which alludes to the belief that “some topics are just too spiritual to share” (Kennedy, 2015, para. 6). Rose (1996) speaks of Aboriginal knowledge as intellectual property, where “if knowledge is constituted as evidence of relationships among persons and between persons and country, then it is most assuredly not available to all...” (p. 32). Cultural knowledge is not just there for the taking.

As Batty (2005) explains, Aboriginal managers need to possess “cultural, social and political ‘credentials’” in order to have the authority to “lease” their Aboriginality in a white partnership (p. 218). Batty (2005) states that Aboriginal managers struggled with “the constant need to seek the ‘right’ to [manage] from their Aboriginal community” (p. 219). Batty’s study demonstrates the hierarchical positioning through an Aboriginal community. When Edmonds states, the Aboriginal person “may not be entitled” to talk about country or share culture, it emphasizes the protocols for who has the right to this knowledge. When a potential tourism operator wants to discuss cultural stories to those outside of the community, it bypasses the

traditional learning hierarchies of the Aboriginal group. Therefore, the hierarchies that exist within Aboriginal community structures are also influential in shaping what outsiders learn about Aboriginal culture. If the tour operator is only allowed to share basic information with outsiders because they are not eligible to go through stages of initiation, then the local cultural tourism production is also limited.

In this “Access to Culture” section, I have argued that the presentation of an “Aboriginal board” is presented as a way that Aboriginal people are active and have political control in a particular tourism area; however, it perpetuates the notion of a homogenized Aboriginal group when the board is made up of Aboriginal people from elsewhere. Aboriginal people from different language groups have unique values and stakes, and even in the tourism industry, can be placed in a powerful position to make decisions for other Aboriginal groups. I have also argued that Aboriginal hierarchies within a community have the ability to limit the circulation of some Aboriginal cultural beliefs and practices. Aboriginal people believe that some cultural practices should not be shared with outsiders. Ultimately, when information is limited, the guides are only able to offer a simple perspective to tourists about Aboriginal people and culture.

In my discussion of “Connection to Country,” I have used “connectivity” as a framework to demonstrate the complex and multi-tiered hierarchy of participants that are influential in producing cultural tourism. I have argued that Aboriginal people’s control, economic advantage and political power is challenged whether they have tenure to country or not. I have discussed hierarchies through the concessions of King’s Park and the joint management of Uluru-Kata Tjuṯa National Park to emphasize how encounters between various tourism partners impact tourism experiences, representations and cultural production. I have also highlighted that there are Aboriginal limitations to “connectivity” to culture within the intercultural relationships of the

Aboriginal community's hierarchy. There is not a one-direction hierarchical system where powers and information flows, but the tourism industry is a social field of intersecting relationships of mutual and differing interests. The positions of landowners, decision makers, and political participants are all working on cultural production, albeit for their own stakes. I now turn to WAITOC's second key principal: Welcome to Country.

Welcome to Country: Political Perceptions of Aboriginal Culture and Positioning a Host/Guest Relationship

...the welcome to country is a fantastic one, and [I] absolutely...cannot understand why the industry at large cannot really come to grips with the significance of welcome to country (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Welcome to Country is about the “provision of safe passage and reciprocal acknowledgement” for mutual benefit (WAITOC, 2015). According to Reconciliation Australia (n/d):

Protocols for welcoming visitors to Country have been a part of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures for thousands of years. Despite the absence of fences or visible borders, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups had clear boundaries separating their Country from that of other groups. Crossing into another group's Country required a request for permission to enter—like gaining a visa—and when that permission was granted the hosting group would welcome the visitors, offering them safe passage (p. 1, #2).

Welcome to Country is a traditional and ceremonial practice that has passed through many generations of indigenous people. Edmonds (2013) describes it as “about relationship from people to another people. Hosts to guests,” and declares that he is surprised at the industry's lack of recognition of the significance of this cultural practice (recorded interview). I find this an important starting point to discuss how the hierarchies and gatekeeping between the various levels of hosts perpetuates a certain Aboriginal representation for outsiders: as a symbol of history and tradition. In this section, I use Edmonds explanation of Welcome to Country between

“Hosts to Guests” as a play on words (and positions) of the various hosts; symbolically “hosts” are considered those who belong here, and “guests” are outsiders.

In *Welcome to Country*, I focus on how cultural protocols become symbolic practices to demonstrate respect, or they can be emptied of their significance to become a cultural object that is commodified for tourism. I begin by explaining the cultural significance of Aboriginal *Welcome to Country* and establish how it has been criticized within the political arena of Australia. One anxiety that escalates to the surface when discussing *Welcome to Country* is how non-Aboriginal Australian people become the “guest” with these cultural protocols. I reference the work of Kowel (2015) to emphasize the *Welcome to Country* (WTC) Aboriginal cultural practice as a symbolic performance that becomes apolitical for Aboriginal people in certain circumstances. I use this as a foundation to argue that the political discourses surrounding WTC are also applicable in examining hierarchy and cultural production in the tourism industry. The discourses promoting WTC demonstrate respect, but when the protocol is no longer a gesture of acknowledgement or reconciliation, the cultural practice becomes a mere performance. When non-indigenous people position the WTC as an apolitical performance it also justifies and maintains their own position as “host,” rather than visitors or guests in their own country. The WTC is emphasized as a performance when it is only in the realm of tourism.

According to Edmonds (2013), New Zealand’s tourism industry has “embraced the Maori equivalent” of *Welcome to Country* and it is:

...part of Tourism New Zealand’s corporate positioning and differentiation of New Zealand from other places around the world... The genesis or the origin of *welcome to country* is actually about a spiritual obligation of the Aboriginal people of a particular place to make the way safe for visitors who come to their place. They have an obligation—a spiritual obligation—so this is an ancestral thing. So anyone who is coming into their territory, they will extend a welcome and have protocols and ceremony, which from their point of view spiritually clears the way for those visitors to have a safe experience within their territory (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Edmonds compares Australia's tourism industry with New Zealand's, where New Zealand embraces the concept of WTC and Australia does not. In New Zealand's tourism industry's willingness to "embrace" WTC as part of their corporate positioning and differentiation, marks the tourism industry as a gatekeeper to the larger tourism identity. At the same time, it is significant to consider that Australia is "the only Commonwealth nation that does not have a treaty with its indigenous peoples" (Williams, 2013, para. 3).⁴⁵ Therefore, in Australia there are other tensions to consider such as anxieties over who is welcoming whom to the country, and whether the symbolic and discursive performances remove power from some and give it to others.

Edmonds' description of WTC is from an Aboriginal standpoint, where the practice is related to spiritual beliefs and tradition ("an ancestral thing"). Aboriginal people perform the Welcome to Country to request the spiritual being of the land to clear a safe passage for visitors, and this has been practiced for thousands of years (Reconciliation Australia, n/d). The practice of offering safe passage has been taken up in contemporary situations, where an elder of the Traditional Owners "sing[s], danc[es], [performs] smoking ceremonies or a speech in traditional language or English" at the beginning of a formal event (Reconciliation Australia, n/d, para. 2). Edmonds (2013) explains that WAITOC is calling for the Welcome to Country to be incorporated into everything from main events to tourist tours (recorded interview).

A similar gesture of WTC is an Acknowledgement, where a:

non-indigenous person (or an Indigenous person who is not a Traditional Owner) acknowledges that the site where the audience is meeting is regarded as ancestral country for a particular Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander nation and acknowledges the elders of those Traditional Owners" (Kowal, 2015, p. 174).

⁴⁵ The United States, New Zealand and Canada all have treaties, and Canada is still creating new treaties (Williams, 2013).

Government agencies, educational institutions, Aboriginal organizations, and many other professional organizations commonly incorporate WTC or Acknowledgement protocols into the start of their events (Kowal, 2015). These types of protocols are “often produced as part of or alongside a Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP)” (Kowal, 2015), which is “a business plan that documents what an organization commits to do to contribute to reconciliation in Australia” (www.reconciliation.org.au/raphub/about/, Accessed July 8, 2016). Kowal (2015) states that through indirect measurement we can understand the widespread use of these types of protocols, when “358 organisations had a RAP” and the Australian federal parliament and most state parliaments incorporate these ceremonies in some way (p. 175). Therefore, it is clearly part of the national conversation in recognizing Australia’s history and how to acknowledge Aboriginal populations.

As a public, visible and political practice, Welcome to Country has been publicly criticized in Australia, where for example, the 2010 Opposition Leader Tony Abbott⁴⁶ dismissed the practice as “tokenism” when done too often (Strohfeldt, 2010, p. 5)⁴⁷. This was widely criticized by Aboriginal leaders, and Abbott’s comments stirred debate but some members of his party supported him. Primarily, those against the Welcome to Country stated that it was not sincere when it was required at all events, which changes it from being a “gesture” to going through the motions. Other leaders stated that the practice is a sign of respect and “critical to reconciliation” (Strohfeldt, 2010, p. 5). One expressed that the ceremony is whitewashed and meaningless because the “word ‘stolen’ should be inserted before land” (Strohfeldt, 2010, p. 5).

⁴⁶ Abbot later became Prime Minister of Australia from 2013-2015.

⁴⁷ *The Koori Mail* national newspaper is printed every two weeks. It is 100% Aboriginal owned by five Bundjalung Aboriginal community organizations, and reports on issues that are important for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (koorimail.com/about-koori-mail/). In 2011, they received the Newspaper of the Year award, and created a digitized collection in partnership with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, the Department of Industry and Science, CAVAL and the State Library of New South Wales (koorimail.com/news/aiatsis-archive/).

Indigenous business leader Warren Mundine stated he believed Abbott would do the ceremony if he were to become Prime Minister, and acknowledged:

Out of 100 of [ceremonies] that you attend, most are very appropriate and proper and about five are a bit strange...But I think it's fantastic, ten years ago we weren't even acknowledged" (Strohfeldt, 2010, p. 5).

Mundine's comments weigh the success of the ceremonies with public Aboriginal acknowledgement. While a small portion "are a bit strange," the performance of the ceremony is symbolic for Mundine in Aboriginal people's acknowledgement in the larger political and national arena, and perhaps even recognition as a citizen of Australia. Those against Abbott's comment argued that refusing the Welcome to Country ignores the black history of Australia, and encourages "racist elements within the community" (Strohfeldt, 2010, p. 5). Aboriginal people view the dismissal of the ceremonial practice in public and political spaces as erasing the colonial history and any form of apology, and perceive this as non-Aboriginal Australians showing an act of disrespect. This debate is focused on Welcome to Country in the political contexts, including meetings and functions; however, it is significant in recognizing the national temperature on the topic.

Kowal (2015) examined the ways WTC and Acknowledgements functioned as "White anti-racist 'speech acts' that perform 'identity work' for White Australians who wish to address and overcome the legacy of colonialism" (p. 176)⁴⁸. Kowal (2015) compares non-indigenous people who enjoy WTC as "anti-racist" or "progressive" and those who reject the practices as "conservative" or "racist" (Kowal, 2015, p. 176)⁴⁹. However, the meanings of these ceremonies

⁴⁸ See Kowal's (2015) study for much more detail on the debates and variations of opinion on WTC and Acknowledgements. I offer a brief overview of her work to illustrate the differences in values around this practice, and to emphasize that the differences are not produced between clear cut or bounded groups.

⁴⁹ Kowal (2015) does make it clear that she is "necessarily generalizing," and uses "progressive" or "conservative" to connect Australians with those typical views. However, Kowal states that conservatives can definitely identify as

and practices go beyond political symbolism and positioning and also exist as “potent commentaries on belonging” (Kowal, 2015, p. 176). Kowal analyzed three different versions of Acknowledgements: the conventional script with minor variations; an extended statement that “encompasses non-indigenous origins and ancestors”; and, one that emphasizes affect and nurture, not traditional ownership, as a basis for belonging, and positions Indigenous people as one group among many” (2015, p. 176). The last two include non-indigenous people in the Acknowledgements. Kowal (2015) highlights former Victorian conservative premier, Ted Baillieu’s “decision to make an Acknowledgement of Traditional Owners non-mandatory for Victorian government ministers” (p. 187) as a “defensive” Acknowledgement. These narratives expose White anxieties about belonging, and supporters’ debates around “tokenism” were “couched as concern for the effectiveness in honouring Traditional Owners,” but others questioned this intent (Kowal, 2015, p. 187). A significant aspect of Kowal’s (2015) study is the discussion of non-Aboriginal people’s enjoyment of the performances due to their symbolic nature and lack of threat by Indigenous sovereignty (p. 189). Kowal states:

This perhaps explains why WTCs are predominantly a feature of urban Australia, where native title claims are both most unsettling to non-indigenous Australians and most unlikely to succeed (Hinkson, 2003). The claims of Indigenous ownership made in a WTC are usually wholly symbolic, with little chance of achieving legal reality (Kowal, 2015, p. 189).

Kowal’s statement emphasizes the non-Aboriginal anxieties of Aboriginal tenure to land. Once again, we are reminded of the very real consequences that connect Aboriginal culture to Aboriginal rights. I have discussed elsewhere the use of Aboriginal art and ongoing traditions as proof of *Native Title* (Korff, 2016; Lane & Waitt, 2001), and Aboriginal people’s reclaim of lands are commonly in remote areas (Korff, 2016).

non-racist, but “the dominant discourse of Australian conservatism is generally not associated with anti-racism” (Kowal, 2015, p. 198, #33).

The cultural practices of Welcome to Country ceremonies or Acknowledgement could be perceived as non-indigenous people's acceptance of proof of "ownership" or belonging to this particular country, which threatens non-indigenous people's own place in Australia. Suddenly, the non-indigenous Australians are welcomed to their country and positioned as the "guest" in the host/guest relationship. However, Kowal (2015) argues that the urban performances are only symbolic because urban land cannot be claimed, and therefore apolitical in this scenario. When the history and laws of Australia remove the political possibilities of WTC in urban settings, Aboriginal culture is highlighted as entertainment and a performance that is commonly seen in tourism. In addition, some non-Aboriginal people view the WTC or Acknowledgement as "racist because they divide Australians into 'Indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' categories" (Kowal, 2015, p. 191), and they are against including the Aboriginal cultural protocol at public meetings as a gesture of reconciliation towards Aboriginal peoples. Therefore, those against the WTC do not view it as a symbol of reconciliation, but as a performance that accentuates differences. This may be perceived as another excuse for not allowing these protocols, and as another area of non-indigenous anxiety.

Charles Mibunj Moran (2011), a Bundjalung Elder, wrote a letter to the newspaper in response to a comment by Liberal Senator McGauran who "question[ed] the use of the welcome to country in Federal Parliament and its status as being considered equal to that of the Lord's Prayer" (para. 1). Moran (2011) explains:

When we have our welcome to country our custodians/Elders pay respect to custodians past and present as well as Elders past and present. Spiritually, this is showing respect for the country and the custodians who are responsible for taking care of the country where we live (Moran, 2011, p. 24, para. 6-7)⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Reader's letter in the *Koori Mail*.

The tradition of Welcome to Country shows respect to both the Elders (past and present) and the country. In this example, it is clear that Aboriginal people highly regard the importance of WTC. Moran stated, I “feel so proud to see a welcome to country being used and recognised in Canberra today” (Moran, 2011, p. 24 para. 10). Moran’s statements emphasize that the WTC and Acknowledgement are also symbolic acts of *inclusion* and belonging to the Australian national identity⁵¹ for Aboriginal people.

So how does this relate to tourism? I return to the governments’ encouragement of Aboriginal participation in the tourism industry (Altman & Finlayson, 2003), and how Aboriginal culture is upheld as differentiating Australia from other tourism destinations. I do not intend to state that one side of the WTC debate is correct or not, but it does highlight the tensions of who “belongs” in Australia, and what it means to be welcomed. It is a symbolic power play where the inclusion of the protocol in public events is an act of consideration and respect for Aboriginal people, while simultaneously reminding non-Aboriginal people of their colonial history and potentially emphasizing a “black or white” position. It also places the Aboriginal people as the “welcome-ers” and the non-indigenous people as the “guests.” Aboriginal people have long been understood as second-class citizens, yet prized for their cultural abilities to differentiate Australia from other tourism destinations. Yet when non-Aboriginals are placed in the position of performing an Acknowledgement or holding a WTC for other Australian citizens, they present an anxiety of how this cultural presentation could have real consequences for the current state of land tenure. Kowal’s (2015) research focuses on the political and urban areas, but

⁵¹ I emphasize the Australian “national” identity in this scenario to acknowledge Moreton-Robinson’s (2003) point that Indigenous people have an ontological relationship to land and therefore *belong*. She states, “This subject position cannot be erased by colonizing processes which seek to position the Indigenous as object, inferior, other, and its origins are not tied to migration” (p. 31). Aboriginal people differ from non-Indigenous people, where Moreton-Robinson states Indigenous have an “inalienable nature of our relation to land,” and non-Indigenous “sense of belonging in this place is tied to migrancy” (2003, p. 31).

when broadening the scope of WTC across Australia it brings to question whether the anxieties for non-indigenous people and changes to land tenure are valid concerns that Aboriginal people could act upon.

Finally, I would also like to argue that if WTC protocols are only used in tourism and not in other domains, then it becomes detached from its spiritual and historical meaning and is merely a performance for a specific group of people: tourists. Edmonds (2013) explains:

But really, it hasn't really been picked up by the industry as being something other than a 'look Aboriginals have this kind of protocol we really sort of need to do it,' you know... (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

The debates and anxieties I've discussed here illustrate that in the political arena of Australia, Edmonds statement rings true for some participants. Edmonds also tells of the tourism industry as inconsistently incorporating the ceremonial practice as well ("it hasn't really been picked up"). According to Edmonds:

It's an indigenous concept. It has authenticity. Because Indigenous people are doing something which has been handed on to them from their ancestors. They are utilizing practicing protocols that have been there, you know, through the generations. And that is all an important part of reinforcing authenticity really, you know from a visitors viewpoint. Are they getting something--an experience--that hasn't initially just been made up. It may be being delivered in a modern context, but it has a really important ancestral origin, if you like, and there are spiritual reasons why they do that (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Edmonds explains the WTC as "authentic" because it is traditional ("handed on to them from their ancestors"). The other key point Edmonds makes is defining "authenticity" as something that is not just produced for tourism, but practiced even in a contemporary setting. Therefore, if the protocols are inconsistent, that creates another kind of tokenism: one that is a cultural production that has lost its historical meaning and spiritual significance. The practices become one more symbolic representation that signifies Aboriginality, and can be highlighted in Australia's tourism industry as a marker of differentiation.

In this Welcome to Country section, I have argued that the political debates around WTC and Acknowledgement protocols are significant to understand how Aboriginal culture is taken up in the larger national political domain, as it is a statement of positioning Aboriginal culture overall. The non-Aboriginal presentation of Acknowledgement and Aboriginal performance of WTC brings forth non-Aboriginal anxieties of belonging and Aboriginal land tenure. The WTC protocol shifts the power dynamics of hosts and guests, where Aboriginal people are the welcome-ers as hosts of the country, and non-Aboriginal people are the guests who are welcomed. When non-Aboriginal actors in the political and public arenas act to remove these performances that signify reconciliation, they are also “tokenizing” the WTC. I have compared the political debates of WTC to “mere” performance of culture strictly for the purposes of tourism, where cultural production that is emptied of its spiritual and traditional meaning becomes a tourism object strictly for entertainment. I now turn to examine hierarchies through WAITOC’s third key principle: Corroboree.

Corroboree: Relationships between Cultural “Products” and the Travel Distribution System

This is really about acknowledging that people can come together from different places, ...different peoples can come together, they can share...And it is reasonable for them to put their point of view, and for others to listen to it. And it's also reasonable for others, it is up to the others to take on board, to accept, [to utilize...]. In other words, it is really a case of people coming together, sharing and taking from the sharing, and utilizing and building that into their own particular circumstances. It is not necessarily compulsive that one is saying to the other you must do this you must do that (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Corroboree is the third key principle of WAITOC, and I use it here to examine hierarchies through national and international tourism structures. Edmonds described WAITOC’s perspective of corroboree as focused on acknowledgement, sharing, listening, and using new

information to build on one's own circumstances. Edmonds highlights that the corroboree takes place between people from different places and who are different from one another. Another key element from Edmonds' explanation is that the use of another's sharing should not be compulsive. It is a conscious decision.

In order to understand how the various tourism intermediaries participate in Australia's tourism industry, I focus on the travel distribution system. According to interviewees, Aboriginal people need to learn about and associate themselves with the travel distribution system in order to play a role in the cultural tourism industry and understand trade standards. I argue that the travel distribution system supports many gatekeepers that manage the international and national identity, and controls who gets to play a role. First, I give a brief overview of the distribution system, and then examine narratives from tourism professionals about the finer challenges within the system. Tourism professionals discussed how Aboriginal tourism businesses have been unreliable; that commissions equate to recognition; and businesses need to fulfill rigid "minimum" requirements in order to be approved as part of the finely tuned Australian tourism identity or the global tourism brand. Ultimately, I argue that Aboriginal people need to navigate a tangled network in order to interject their own representations in an international industry. The global tourism networks do not successfully mesh with WAITOC's third key principle where participants come together, share and build on their current knowledge.

The Web of the Travel Distribution System

Altman and Finlayson (2003) declare, "all Aboriginal enterprises need to be familiar with the structure and demands of the tourism industry in order to successfully market their product"

(p. 79). According to Tourism Australia and the Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC) (2016):

The travel distribution system is a complex, global network of independent businesses. This network includes a series of distributors or intermediaries, who play a specific role in the development, promotion and purchasing process of Australian tourism experiences (p. 18).

The most basic model of the traditional distribution system includes businesses in Australia, “wholesalers based overseas and international retail travel agents, [who] link to the international consumer” (Tourism Australia & Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC), 2016, p. 19). In order to draw from a broad customer base, tourism operators need to have other means of tourists knowing about businesses besides direct contact. The distribution system has become even more complex with the addition of online wholesalers and retailers. A tourism business can benefit from establishing knowledge and relationships with the broad base of distributors, who each are part of the “host” network through their marketing and representation of the Australian businesses.

The tourism distribution system has particular expectations of the “products” they will sell, and distributors have experienced differences with Aboriginal cultural tourism businesses that do not always meet the industry standards. Adeline states:

So the thing is that... traditionally, those in-bound tour operators in Australia... haven't put the product in the system to actually give it a chance to be sold internationally... for a variety of reasons. Some of those reasons are based around reliability... the brochures are eighteen months in advance and you know, if they brochure something and next year it's not there... and so they've had their fingers burnt in some ways about when they have taken the plunge to... try and distribute and sell indigenous product (recorded interview, Adeline).

The distribution system has the ability to decide whether a tourism “product” goes in the system to be marketed internationally. That is a powerful position to hold over another business, but Adeline explains that the distributor also has their own reputation on the line (“they’ve had their

fingers burnt”). Adeline is referencing the length of time it takes to market and print for the international industry, and that the Aboriginal tourism businesses have a reputation of not being reliable. The distributor’s reputation is affected when they print the brochure with a particular local tourism operator, and then when people want to book the tour, it no longer exists. It appears to be a vicious circle when the tour operator cannot get expanded marketing, and so will more than likely have fewer customers. If they cannot sustain the business then they disappear, and the distributor equates it with other Aboriginal “product.”

One part of the industry standards that influences whether or not a distributor markets a local operator pertains to the commission strategy. If the business is not set up in this way, the industry does not recognize them as part of the industry. Johnny explains:

Now... from the industry’s point of view, what we’ve found here in Perth—the industry only recognizes maybe two businesses... in the Perth metropolitan area. The reality is, that there is twenty-something... Aboriginal businesses operating in the metropolitan Perth. So... what on earth is happening here, you know? Why is it that industry only sees two, and yet there’s twenty something? A couple of reasons for that... is that the industry is very distribution... focused if you like. So the distribution channels work in a particular way, and most importantly... have a thing called commission strategies. So if a business does not operate a commission strategy,... it’s not really a tourism business... from the industry’s viewpoint. But the realities are... the industry is much, much more diverse... (recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

When Edmonds explains that the industry only recognizes two businesses, we understand this to mean the distributors in the industry that would market and sell the operator’s tours to the tourists, or perhaps to other travel agents. If the tourism operator is unable or unwilling to provide a commission, they are not a legitimately recognized business in the eyes of the distribution system. However, Edmonds highlights that the reality of the Aboriginal business industry, at least in Perth, is much more diverse than being legitimized through commissions or not. This is the reality of any tourism business, not just Aboriginal owned ones.

During one of my interviews, Jillian at Tourism Australia also discussed the distribution system and how it recognizes businesses. I asked Jillian whether small businesses have a hard time being commissionable. Jillian explained:

In a small business, or even if...the price point is quite low, like if it is something that costs ten dollars, the agent is not going to try and sell that for you because they'll get nothing out of it... So...they have to I guess be in a position to...be happy to give thirty percent, for example, commission. And then also have the right setup available that it leaves a decent, you know, a hundred bucks at least price point that they will actively try and sell it for you at the end of the day (recorded interview, Jillian).

Jillian's explanation adds to Edmonds, where you need to be commissionable to be recognized by the industry, and here, those commissions need to be worthy of the agent's time. In other words, the distributor decides who goes in the system or on brochures to get internationally marketed, and more than likely makes decisions on a tour operator's business based on the agent's personal benefits and profits. Tourism Australia has specifications for businesses to be considered "internationally ready." Jillian explains:

...we mostly connect the most relevant for those operators who are internationally ready so those who are already working with wholesalers... There are 26,000 Australian Tourism operators across the country, but for those who are actively engaged in international marketing—which is the way we see it—it's about 600 roughly (recorded interview, Jillian).

Jillian's detailing of the small percentage of tourism operators' businesses that are recognized as being "internationally ready" emphasizes how rigorous the expectations are. For one reason or another, 25,400 tour operators are not considered "ready" for international marketing.

The Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC) in partnership with Tourism Australia and its affiliate offices have collaborated to create the "Tourism Export Toolkit (TEXT) (Tourism Australia & Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC), 2016)." The catalog is "designed to provide you with the basic tools, knowledge and key contacts needed to enter the export tourism market... [and] put you on the path to inbound tourism know-how!" (Tourism Australia &

Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC), 2016, p. 2). In order to be “export ready,” the Tourism Export Toolkit has aggressive “minimum” requirements for your “product”:

- Quality products and experiences that are delivered consistently
- Reliability and efficiency (consistent operating hours and regular schedules)
- High levels of customer service and helpful reservations staff
- Understanding of the cultural needs of different markets
- Consistent pricing policies that consider all levels of distribution and offer commissionable rates
- Easy communication via email, toll-free numbers and fax and
- Fast and efficient turnaround and response times for bookings and enquiries (within 24 hours) (Tourism Australia & Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC), 2016, p. 20).

For a small or startup business, these are demanding qualifications that require money and staffing. Aboriginal people, especially, can struggle with these types of demands when:

Employment in tourism-related industries requires a high level of literacy and communication skills and the adoption of cultural styles which are foreign and daunting (Altman & Finlayson, 2003, p. 79).

The requirements listed in the TExT are structured around Western expectations of business related to prompt timing, efficiency, customer service, technology and an understanding of the markets’ needs and expectations. As Altman and Finlayson (2003) point out, even the cultural styles produced and maintained in the tourism industry may be foreign for those who are not familiar with them. The demanding qualifications and Western business practices highlights a top-down structure for Aboriginal people to participate in the tourism industry; the sharing and mutual learning of the corroboree does not exist in this hierarchy. During my interview with Edmonds (2013), I asked whether Aboriginal people had any different struggles in starting a business than non-Aboriginal people. Edmonds replied:

I think probably the additional challenges that Aboriginal businesses face... it’s probably...their lack of involvement... in a business kind of environment. And when I say lack of involvement, I mean because... perhaps... other members of the community...have never been involved in the business before. Whereas I think we find

with non-aboriginal, many who get into a business have had the opportunity to pick up on experiences about being in business...(recorded interview, Johnny Edmonds).

Therefore, beyond educational and cultural differences, Edmonds points to the lack of opportunities for Aboriginal people in communities to experience the business environment, and the behind-the-scenes operations to make a business successful.⁵² With the detailed requirements of TExT, an Aboriginal person who wants to start a tourism business may take a period of time before they are recognized and eventually promoted by the industry. In order for the business to reach that level, it will need to self-market and promote until the business owner can become “Export ready.”

Tourism Australia and the Australian Tourism Export Council are at the top of the tourism industry hierarchy and act as the ultimate gatekeepers for the image they want to project to a global audience. When they set the standards for what it takes to be “export ready,” they hold the power to put their stamp of approval on what businesses outsiders learn about. This enables Tourism Australia to have full control of their national tourism brand, which includes their websites, the tourism “products” they highlight, the campaigns they create, and all of the means for distributing this information. As Jillian stated:

At the moment, we do have quite a lot of messages...each of the states have their own messaging. And at Tourism Australia, we have our own messaging system as well. So there are quite a lot of different messages going out there about the one country. So... going forward...this new...concept that *we're* trying to push is one voice. One Australia banner (recorded interview, Jillian).

Jillian’s explanation emphasizes the government tourism authority moving toward one voice.

She explains each of the states have had their own messaging, so the transition to “one voice”

asserts that Tourism Australia will be monitoring and shaping all of Australia’s tourism industry

⁵² During my time in Yulara, I noticed an Aboriginal training center called the National Indigenous Training Academy. The café at Ayers Rock Resort stated that it employed people from this hospitality-training program, and the resort has a goal of increasing the number of Aboriginal employees (see ayersrockresort.com.au/around-the-resort/about-ayers-rock-resort/national-indigenous-training-academy).

to project a particular strategic identity. I have only discussed a small portion of the requirements to participate in the “export ready” section of Australia’s tourism industry, but the creation of the TExT is one means to control the industry standards and in doing so, also control what is allowed to be associated with Tourism Australia and the government authority.

While Tourism Australia sets these industry standards, and before I conclude this section, I will also acknowledge the creation of their own Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) (Tourism Australia, 2014). Chairman Geoff Dixon states the RAP “reaffirms [their] commitment” to create and maintain strong relationships with Indigenous people, and “contribute meaningfully to ‘Closing the Gap’” (p. 3). Dixon states, “Tourism Australia is the first Commonwealth Government Agency to commit to a [RAP] at this level,” which includes the Indigenous Tourism Champions Program (ITCP) as the core program (Tourism Australia, 2014, p. 3). In the RAP, Tourism Australia’s actions surrounding Indigenous tourism are focused on three core areas: Relationships, Respect, and Opportunities. Through these core areas,⁵³ Tourism Australia seeks to improve, promote, support and mentor, in order to increase Aboriginal cultural tourism businesses and their reputations among the distribution networks and customers. In Tourism Australia’s core areas of Reconciliation, the focus is on Aboriginal tourism businesses rather than Aboriginal people or their cultural beliefs. The “reconciliation” across these core values then is really about Aboriginal people being able to participate in the larger tourism industry, and to be able to sustain their businesses long term. It is reconciling the tourism distributors’,

⁵³ *Relationships* focuses on increased “awareness of Indigenous tourism experiences and cultures across the tourism distribution network” and a goal “to raise the profile of Indigenous tourism across government agencies” (Tourism Australia, 2014, p. 7). *Respect* is “to raise the awareness and recognition of the aspirations, cultures and achievements of Indigenous Australians amongst Tourism Australia staff,” and “to develop and strengthen [the] relationships with Indigenous stakeholders and the communities they represent” (Tourism Australia, 2014, p. 7). And, *Opportunities* “support[s] and encourage[s] programs that build the capacity of Indigenous tourism operators within the tourism industry,” and works “To employ, develop and promote Indigenous peoples and identify mentoring opportunities...” (Tourism Australia, 2014, p. 7)

Tourism Australia's staff, and governments' impressions and lack of awareness of the Aboriginal cultural tourism businesses with Aboriginal Tourism Operators' aspirations and achievements.

Tourism Australia's Reconciliation Plan alludes to ideologies of the Australian "self-determination" policy introduced in the early 1970s. After the assimilation era, the intent of the policy:

...was to provide Aborigines with the means to control their own affairs, with the eventual aim of a withdrawal of state interference altogether. Numerous non-Indigenous people were appointed in Aboriginal bodies to assist in the process of empowerment on both managerial and operational levels. The ironic and unintended consequence has, however, been that a thorough government meddling has been and continues to be required to realize the policy (Tonnaer, 2010, p. 26).

Tourism Australia, as the "first Commonwealth Government Agency to commit to the RAP," emphasizes the tourism industry as a means for realizing Aboriginal self-determination. Tourism Australia continues the government "meddling" by maintaining its position as an intermediary and mentor between Aboriginal tourism businesses, the distribution network, and other government. This is not to say that the program does not benefit Aboriginal people, but it does perpetuate government and non-Indigenous involvement.

This section has detailed the many intermediaries who are influential in shaping the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry, and who have the ability to act as gatekeepers for Australia's global tourism industry. Ultimately, Australia's global tourism identity is carefully monitored, standardized and filtered through the tourism distribution system. This emphasizes Australia's national identity as a tourism "brand" that is strategically produced. The notion of corroboree is commendable, but in practice the international tourism industry has specific protocols and standards ingrained in its systems. I have argued that in order for Aboriginal people to play a role in their own representations, they are placed in a challenging position when they have a very large network to negotiate. This network functions from the top-down, and if

Aboriginal people choose to play a role in the system, they are expected to understand and perform to those standards. Not only are funding, training, geographic location and initiating a business challenging enough, they are required to leverage a larger Western system of protocols, economic payback and politics to move forward.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have used WAITOC's key principles of Connectivity to Country, Welcome to Country and Corroboree to argue that there are hierarchical tensions at the local, national and international levels of the Australian tourism industry. I have demonstrated the tangle that pushes against and complicates Aboriginal people's participation in cultural tourism production. Hinkson and Smith (2005) state:

The notion that Aboriginal people might simply make a choice between two worlds, or simply move between them, selecting the best that both have to offer, fails to comprehend the processes through which representations, cultural identities and lifeworlds are produced and reproduced (p. 164).

The barriers for Aboriginal people to participate in Australia's cultural tourism sector goes well beyond whether one has the will and budget to begin a business. The barriers also do not exist as Aboriginal people versus non-Aboriginal or government either. Colonization, along with assimilation, stealing land and appropriating culture has all impacted Aboriginal people's ability to have "connectivity" to country.

In Connectivity to Country, I have emphasized the "local" tensions as being tenure to land or operating without tenure to land. I have argued that control, increased profits and political power are not a given when Aboriginal people participate in the tourism industry even when they do have tenure to land. I used King's Park and Uluru as examples of how hierarchies play out through "country." I have also argued that "Aboriginal boards" are not necessarily an

agreement of values and goals, and that Aboriginal hierarchies influence the cultural production within tourism ventures.

In *Welcome to Country*, I examine the national attitude of the Aboriginal cultural protocols of *Welcome to Country* in political arenas. I demonstrate that the Acknowledgement and WTC practices provoke non-Aboriginal anxieties around belonging and Aboriginal land tenure. I argue that the WTC protocols switches the power dynamic where Aboriginal people are in the position of “host” welcoming the non-Aboriginal “guests” to Australian country. In addition, the same debates against allowing *Welcome to Country* in the political arena also empty the cultural practice of its spiritual and traditional significance. When it is expected to exist within a tourism context, it is a mere tourism object or a commodified performance when it is not practices or upheld outside of the tourism industry.

Finally, I use WAITOC’s notion of corroboree and working between people who are different as a means to examine the tourism distribution system. I demonstrate how the network is a tangled web for Aboriginal tourism operators to navigate, and argue that stringent requirements are upheld as a means for the tourism industry to act as gatekeepers. The government tourism authority ultimately shapes their national tourism brand through the rules and expectations it has produced and maintained. The concepts of corroboree do not mesh on to such a rigid top-down structure of the international tourism industry.

Organizations such as WAITOC, and government projects such as Tourism Australia’s Indigenous Tourism Champions Program (ITCP) can be considered bridges that attempt to advocate or broker for Aboriginal business owners. However, the practices and protocols that are so ingrained in the industry uphold expectations and particular practices that privilege Western ideals and cultures.

Chapter 5

Markers of “Authenticity” and Cultural Capital: The Semiotic and Discursive Production of “Authenticity” in Aboriginal Tourism Arts

“...authenticity today is part and parcel of a political economy of taste; whoever enjoys the right to authenticate - to define what’s really real - wields considerable power, indeed. Likewise, externally imposed views of authenticity may be appropriated and subverted by less powerful groups” (Appadurai, 1986, pp. 44–45; in Hoelscher, 1998, p. 372).

The aesthetics of art can be considered subjective, but there are plenty of professionals in the field that attempt to define “high art” from “low,” “traditional” from “contemporary,” or even “museum-worthy” from “not art” at all. A concept that commonly gets entangled in these conceptions is that of “authenticity.” The notion of artistic “authenticity” is a shifting and problematic label as it is tied to notions of place, history, social standing and memory (Clifford, 1988). For Australian Aboriginal art, there are contrasting ideas of “authentic.” Collectors, art historians and critics, artists’ representatives and art sellers, and the artists themselves, all perceive authenticity in varying ways depending on such factors as how it relates to ceremony, whether “traditional” materials are used, who owns the Dreaming story presented in the works, and whether it is signed by the actual creator, among many other debates.

Besides multiple viewpoints, notions of Aboriginal art are also subject to debate as it “is being transformed from esoteric local images to ethnic and national ones” at a rapid pace (Megaw, 2002, p. 370). Discussions debating authenticity are often focused on “high art,” yet as Aboriginal art has moved to commercial applications, such as decorating the outside of airplanes or a set of coasters, more questions arise (Megaw, 2002). Is “authentic” Aboriginal art associated with who produced it; the aesthetic or style of the designs; or with the situation or purpose in

which it was created? Critiques and analysis on “fine art” are evaluated by processes of negation (Clifford, 1988), and tourist arts become part of those evaluations:

Tourist art may be a billion dollar business. Nevertheless, such art is despised. What is worse, the ‘bad’ culture is seen as driving out the ‘good.’ Commercialization is assumed to destroy traditional arts and crafts, replacing them with junk. The process is seen as demeaning to artists in the traditional societies, who are seduced into a type of whoredom: unfeeling production of false beauty for money (Peacock, 1984, p. vii).

Peacock argues that tourist arts are seen as part of the “problem” in identifying, preserving and “authenticizing” fine art.

I focus my attention in this chapter to the presentation of tourist arts precisely because the art industry attempts to define “authenticity” and value by “what it is *not*.” Tourist arts are meaningful beyond the contexts in which they exist or the purpose and creativity involved, and:

Because a cross-cultural interchange is involved in tourist art, a third dynamic element is introduced—the function of art as a communicative system across different settings and traditions. Thus, tourist art may be viewed as both a product and a process that is seen from the dual perspectives of the producers and consumers (Jules-Rosette, 1984, p. 8).

Tourist art exists as a purposeful response to tourism imaginaries and makes a statement about the creator. It is also symbolic for the consumer as they collect the images that correlate to their perceptions of Aboriginal Australia. Most importantly, notions of “authenticity” are semiotically and discursively performed. In other words, the production of “authenticity” can be related to performative “speech acts,” where utterances perform an action (Austin, 2006, p. 56).

Bourdieu (2006b) states:

...utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed (p. 480).

In other words, those who perform the utterances are part of the process of creating value or defining an “authentic,” which also positions them within a “symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or market)” (Bourdieu,

2006b, p. 480). In this way, cultural objects become symbols in a “tourist art system” where “artists, middlemen, and consumers” are a part of a process that influence and manipulate meaning (Jules-Rosette, 1984). These tourist arts should be examined with a focus on their “communicative aims and content” (Jules-Rosette, 1984, p. 16). In this chapter, I analyze the semiotic and discursive constructions of “authentic” products, and focus on what we can learn about their creators, as well as the producers’ potential communicative aims.

Those who define the “authentic” and the meanings linked with it are in an authoritative position to tell us what is worthy of our gaze and what has value (Appadurai, 1986; Hoelscher, 1998). Myers (2004) explains that meaning is not explicitly affixed to a sign (i.e. the meaning or significance of Aboriginal art), but meaning is produced through the processes related to the sign.

...even supposedly ‘traditionally-oriented’ people didn’t just ‘have’ a culture. They certainly had a set of interpretive practices and resources, but however much the observer may gain entry to a world by ‘learning’ the meaning of a sign, in actual practice signs don’t just have a meaning; they are made to have meanings, given signifieds in practice (Myers, 2004, p. 265).

With Aboriginal art, an artist may attempt to convey a certain meaning through their practices or stories, but they may “be ruled out as meaningless by those with the authority to do so” (Myers, 2004, p. 250). Other players in the art circuit produce meaning through the practices of marketing, selling, naming or reproducing. This chapter’s focus on cultural production emphasizes cultural hierarchies where people do not just “have” a culture, but are “making their culture, and remaking it through the unsettled business’ of acrylic painting—neither ritual business nor fully commerce” (Myers, 2004, p. 265). Aboriginal artists repurpose their ritual practices to play a role in the consumer culture.

The tourism industry is known for calling attention to the significant signs of a place, or at least those representations that a place has used to shape its identity. MacCannell (1976) discusses the semiotics of tourist attractions and uses the term *marker* “to mean any information about a specific sight” (p. 110). The marker “constitutes a sight as a sight: by giving information about it, representing it, making it recognizable, it marks something, present or absent, as a sight for tourists” (MacCannell in Culler, 1981, p. 132). For example, an “on-sight marker” references a sign that tells the tourists that this is an important place (MacCannell, 1976, p. 111). The marker distinguishes something as having value, and as consumers we understand the markers as truth. MacCannell (1976) explains that if something is not marked, “it would be impossible for a layman to distinguish, on the basis of appearance alone, between moon rocks brought back by astronauts and pebbles picked up at Craters of the Moon National Monument in Idaho” (p. 41). When tourists purchase fine art, the markers or narratives about a piece are significant in telling a consumer about the artist, her accolades and information, which then equates to value. In this chapter, I explore how markers are also associated with tourist arts. Culler (1981) points to markers as the signifier of authenticity, and there is a level of anxiety for tourists “from the absence of markers” (p. 137). The markers designate specific realms of “authenticity” which demand consumers’ attention.

Voices of authority create meaning, and semiotic and discursive productions are used to give a *perception* of value or what is “authentic” in Aboriginal tourist arts. I examine the debates focused around Australian Aboriginal “high” or fine art as a foundation for some of the issues and complexities defining “authenticity” or “real” art. Critics of tourist arts implicitly impel artists and producers of souvenirs to argue their own existence and value in a diverse market. In this chapter I argue that tourist art and souvenir producers also incorporate the “fine art”

categories of critique to declare their own value and “authenticity.” So often the focus in conversations on appropriation are looking at the subject matter of art or artifacts, but I demonstrate that there are also appropriations of cultural processes. When tourist art or souvenirs use the same strategies to give the impression of an “authentic” product as fine art practices, it is marking these items as different than its copies in an industry where mass-production is commonplace. I follow Bruner’s (2005) perspective which rejects the notion of the simulacra (Baudrillard, 1994) “in part because what is presented in tourism is new culture constructed specifically for a tourist audience. There is no simulacrum because there is no original” (p. 5). Of course, the culture presented for performance and art practices is based in the “local cultural matrix,” but the context, the participants and the times make a new “authentic” that is constitutive (Bruner, 2005, p. 5). In this chapter, I do not aim to point out which pieces are authentic and which are not, but I emphasize how perceptions of “authenticity” are communicated through semiotic and discursive means.

Aboriginal people’s participation in the souvenir industry can provide a position for Aboriginal people to signify their own meanings in the larger industry. At the same time, this is a complicated industry since, as I demonstrate in this chapter, in Australia Aboriginal culture has been used to represent Australia and its tourism industry at the same time that “Aboriginal culture was being largely removed from the public sphere of Australia” (Franklin, 2010, p. 197). When people and their culture are separated, those moments when non-dominant voices are able to counter the dominant narrative are less likely. The tourism industry (re)presents Aboriginal motifs in ways that uphold Aboriginal culture as a significant part of the Australian semiotic landscape, even though Aboriginal people may not be explicitly involved.

I focus on three areas that tourist arts and souvenir labels construct and employ “authenticity” through representations: of tradition and the exotic “Other”; signs of labor; and, of “high-culture” and “uniqueness.” In the first two areas of analysis, I focus on how tourism producers and intermediaries manufacture a perceived “authenticity.” In the third section, I focus less on the construction of “authenticity,” and more on how the value of a perceived “authentic” is used for “high-culture” producers to create and establish cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2006a). This chapter is divided into four sections, including: the literature exploring symbols of Aboriginality; the Aboriginal fine art industry; social semiotics; and, an analysis of how tourist arts and souvenirs use fine art evaluations to construct “authenticity.”

In the first section, I provide background on the symbols of Aboriginality and how their (re)production has been incorporated in Australia and Australian national campaigns. I demonstrate how symbols of Aboriginality have value in their own right in the Australian tourism industry, whether or not Aboriginal artists create those designs, or tourists actually come in contact with Aboriginal people (Errington, 2010; Franklin, 2010). The Aboriginal symbols and designs have come to stand for the unique Aboriginal people and culture in Australia, and the cultural tourism industry is commodifying these designs for its advantage.

In the second section, I highlight the art industry’s means of evaluating and categorizing “authenticity” in fine art styles. I explore some of the conflicting perspectives of art critics, historians or consumers in how to evaluate “authentic” Aboriginal art. This section focuses on notions of authenticity and value through “tradition” and ceremony, authorship, and witnessing cultural practices. I follow with an explanation of the complex backgrounds and debates that have been revolving around Australian Aboriginal art regarding art scams and the government’s incapability to protect or monitor the market. My discussion of industry issues differs from the

industry's evaluations of fine art as it looks at the behind-the-scenes practices that influence the value and perceptions of Aboriginal art. This section provides details of art categorization and evaluation that I will use to analyze the markings of tourist arts.

I conclude the literature section with my semiotic and discursive approach to examining tourist arts and souvenirs.

The Symbol of Aboriginality and a Statement of its “Value”

[The] perception of Aboriginality is one that marks its attractive uniqueness in the tourism industry, signifying Australia as a unique destination, but is also one that captures and essentializes an ‘authentic’ Aboriginality within romantic and primitivist discourses (Galliford, 2010, p. 230).

My reference to the symbols of Aboriginality points to the ways that Aboriginal art and designs are prevalent throughout the spaces where tourists pass, and they act as a signifier for Aboriginal people in Australia whether or not Aboriginal people are involved in their production or circulation. By using these symbols, Australia's tourism industry is marking Aboriginal culture as a way to promote and sell tourism, and Aboriginal art and souvenirs (as Galliford also points out above). In this way, Aboriginality as a symbol has a “value” that is related to economic and cultural capital.

Franklin (2010) describes *Aboriginalia* as “decorative objects depicting Aboriginal peoples and/or culture and motifs that were pre-dominantly designed for, sold to and produced by *non-Aboriginal Australians*” as early as the late 1940s and early 1950s (p. 203, emphasis my own). Non-Aboriginal artists began incorporating these designs into pottery and other home wares that eventually made it into Australian people's homes, and into the global tourism industry by the 1960s as part of the branding of Australia (Franklin, 2010, p. 206). Franklin (2010) suggests that the presence of these objects in homes acted as

‘repositories of recognition’, while not high on the political or cultural agenda, nor yet identified as a subject for reform or apology, they nevertheless countered all suggestions that Aboriginality was dying, disappearing, assimilated or extinguished” (p. 206).

The Aboriginal designs came to symbolize a recognition of Aboriginal culture as part of the Australian national imaginary, and a remembrance of a shared history of both Aboriginal and settler (Franklin, 2010). One could also argue that if the objects counter a disappearance of Aboriginal culture, they may also act as a symbol that erases the mistreatment of Aboriginal people, where an appreciation for culture is an attempt to reposition Aboriginal culture at a (slightly) higher social status. In other words, if Aboriginality is not dying or diminished, then the Australian history of colonization, attempts of assimilation and crimes against Aboriginal people is also expunged, and there is no issue to cause white guilt. Australian elevation of Aboriginal design also removes any indication that Aboriginal people have been considered inferior (Broome, 1994; White, 1991), even though the culture has been removed from the people.

When the tourism industry uses Aboriginal designs and artifacts as a symbol to promote the uniqueness of Australia, the value of Aboriginality is literally a commodity to draw visitors and money to tourism, which is a significant industry for Australia. As I’ve discussed elsewhere, Aboriginal culture is a “tourism product” in cultural tourism (cf. Ryan & Huyton, 2002), which turns the traditions, practices and designs into sellable experiences and/or items. Australian Aboriginal art has recognizable characteristics, and when utilized in tourism as a metonym for Aboriginal people or as “tourist” arts, it becomes a marker that presents “to the outside world an ethnic image that must be maintained and projected as a part of the all-important boundary-defining system” (Graburn, 1976, p. 5). In other words, its distinctiveness offers Australia a

valuable sign that is incorporated into its branding as a nation and tourist destination, and distinguishes Australia from other places.

For dominant nations, it is a common practice to “collect and display the arts of their present and past minority peoples as symbols of their national identity” (Graburn, 1976, p. 28). Errington (2010) explains how Aboriginal symbols representing the nation are contradictory through a discussion of the boomerang. The symbol of the boomerang played a role in many national emblems, including national celebrations and military insignias (Errington, 2010, p. 80). Yet, in these common applications, the symbol of the boomerang no longer signified Aboriginal people (Errington, 2010, p. 80). Errington (2010) asserts that “The embrace of Aboriginal symbols as symbols of nation in the public arena took place alongside the ongoing marginalization of Aboriginal people themselves: symbolic display co-existed with enforced invisibility” (p. 80). This emphasizes *Aboriginality*, over Aboriginal people, as a symbol valued for nation and the tourism industry.

The competing host discourses produce and commodify Aboriginal art and designs, which emphasizes meaning-making and the power of communication about an object. Ryan and Huyton (2002) state that host cultures can clearly recognize the difference between the “superficialities” in tourism and the “realities of their own lives” (p. 643), and they suggest the term “authorization” over “‘authenticity’, as it redirects attention to *who* authorizes and *what* is authorized” (p. 644). The one who has “authorization” is clearly in a powerful role to “authenticate.” Myers (2002) emphasizes “the institutions and practices that *make* objects into art” (p. 7). The very act of “designat[ing] cultural products as art is itself a signifying practice, not a simple category of analysis” (Myers, 2002, p. 7). Through these examples, we see that when Aboriginality is upheld through institutional and social practices it has been given value.

In the next section I discuss the ways that the Australian Aboriginal art industry categorizes and evaluates fine arts and “authenticity.” I begin with Clifford’s (1988) explanation of the art-culture-system in general. Then I move to the specifics pertaining to the Australian Aboriginal fine art market. I explore the markers that the art critics, historians and consumers have considered to critique Aboriginal art: tradition, cultural meaning, history, and witnessing the practices of the “Other.” In the “Behind-the-Scenes Complexities of the ‘Authentic’ Claim” section, I focus on how “authenticity” is problematized through abuses and disreputable practices of the art market, and how the government has played a role (or not) in establishing guidelines and monitoring the system. Each of these ways of categorizing and evaluating fine art are important to compare the construction of “authenticity” through tourist arts.

Categorizing, Evaluating and Critiquing Fine Art

The “art-culture system” “classifies objects and assigns them relative value” and “establishes the ‘contexts’ in which they properly belong and between which they circulate” (Clifford, 1988, p. 223). Clifford’s (1988) art-culture system provides a “map” of categories, created through a process of negation, which illustrates four areas in the arts that are “historically specific, contestable field of meanings and institutions” (Clifford, 1988, p. 223). The four zones are situated in horizontal and vertical axes: 1) “the zone of authentic masterpieces” (upper left corner); 2) “the zone of authentic artifacts” (upper right corner); 3) “the zone of inauthentic masterpieces” (lower left corner); and 4) “the zone of inauthentic artifacts” (lower right corner) (Clifford, 1988, p. 223). Zones 1 and 2 are in the “authentic” section (the upper half of the diagram), where zone 1 is “connoisseurship, the art museum and the art market” and zone 2 is “history and folklore, the ethnographic museum, and material culture or craft” (Clifford, 1988, p.

224). On the lower half of the system are the “inauthentic” categories, where zone 3 is “fakes, inventions, the museum of technology, ready-mades and anti-art” and zone 4 is the “tourist art, commodities, the curio collection, utilities” (Clifford, 1988, p. 224). The objects are not static, and over time they may be perceived differently, so the zone they exist in would move from bottom to top or from right to left as they increase in value (Clifford, 1988, p. 223). For example, if a historic object was to become more rare, if preferences in aesthetics change, or if the pricing of a particular market changes, a relic may move from the “zone of authentic artifacts” to one of “authentic masterpieces.” Nearly every object can be classified in this system in some way, and objects can be situated “ambiguously... between two zones” (Clifford, 1988, p. 223). Interestingly, Clifford (1988) states that “there can be no direct movement from zone 4 to zone 1” (p. 225). This means that even though many types of objects can shift their position of relative value, tourist art could never move directly to an “authentic masterpiece.” It is the furthest possible distance in perceived value away from fine art.

Graburn (1976, 1984) classifies types of tourist arts and states that their appeal is based “on a definable ethnicity” (1984; p. 396). Graburn’s conceptual categories are associated with the “time period after colonial or tourist contacts have appeared” (Graburn, 1984, p. 396). In these post-contact areas, indigenous people create two types of arts: those that are “inwardly directed” created for their own functions and aesthetics; and, those that are “made for an external, dominant world” (Graburn, 1976, pp. 4–5). This second type is what Graburn (1976) describes as “despised by connoisseurs as unimportant, and are sometimes called ‘tourist’ or ‘airport’ arts” (p. 5). In Graburn’s classifications, there is a recognition that post-contact, externally produced arts have gone through some type of change or acculturation (Graburn, 1976, 1984). The four categories of the evolution of tourist arts include: 1) Functional to

Commercial traditional: continuing of traditional aesthetics produced for sale; 2) Commercial to Souvenir: basic motifs or forms of traditional art, but size, complexity and form may diminish, and there is less concern for “authenticity”; 3) Reintegrated to Souvenir arts: “traditions” that have been taken back up or invented to take advantage of historic practices, and these “often fulfill the higher price and quality range” which parallels the Commercial arts; and, 4) Assimilated to Popular arts: by indigenous people “who have been considerably acculturated,” using mainstream genres, dominant art system materials” (Graburn, 1984, pp. 398–401). Graburn has worked to create an evaluation system that takes artist, audience, materials, aesthetics and history into consideration. His explanation is another useful perspective in realizing how diverse the area of tourist arts have become, and how processes of acculturation move an art object further away from what is considered “traditional.”

Clifford (1988) and Graburn (1984) both demonstrate that art professionals categorize art styles and their perceived values based as much on “what they are not” as to what they entail. For example, critics compare art that does not stem from tradition, or it does not use traditional materials, etc. The other significant argument for both Clifford (1988) and Graburn (1984) is that art and the way it is categorized is also not static. If art is considered “traditional” today, critics may consider it an artifact, or if it is “traditional” created for an outside audience, it may be categorized as tourist arts. It is difficult, if not impossible, to locate a consensus across the art industry. These diverse perspectives provide a foundation for discussing two areas of categorizing and evaluating fine art as it pertains to Australian Aboriginal creations. First, I discuss the art industry and consumers’ perceptions of “authenticity.” I follow with the government and industry’s statements of the problematic and disreputable practices, and monitoring challenges.

Signs of Authenticity in Aboriginal Art

What western eyes now call art has served for centuries ceremonial purposes of transmitting, and assuring the continuation of, the stories of the “Dreamtime” ... (Alder, Chappell, & Polk, 2011, pp. 189–90).

Australian Aboriginal art exists in a variety of forms, and there are just as many ideas of what constitutes an “authentic” form. In this section, I discuss how others have measured the “authentic” when it comes to Australian Aboriginal art forms. The art market focuses on how Aboriginal paintings have transitioned from ceremonial practices to contemporary placement, whether “traditional” processes are still incorporated, and “proof” of Aboriginal creation.

As a brief history, Aboriginal people were known to have drawn designs in caves, the sand or on their bodies for purposes of ceremony and education to pass on their creation stories (as Alder, et al. also state above). During the 1970s, the Papunya Tula Artists began in the Northern Territory of Australia, at the government settlement of Papunya where the Welfare branch gathered more than a thousand Aboriginal people from several different language groups (cf. Johnson, 2014; Myers, 2002). Geoffrey Bardon was the “art teacher” at the settlement in the early 1970s who encouraged the Aboriginal men to paint a mural on the side of the school. Bardon was enthusiastic about the Aboriginal designs and directed them towards acrylic paints and boards (cf. Bardon, 1991; Johnson, 2014; Myers, 2002). Papunya became a place where the mainly older, initiated Aboriginal men, from a variety of backgrounds, came together to share their rituals and knowledge, and became the “first of their people to inscribe their culture on permanent images based upon their own visual traditions” (Johnson, 2014, p. 3). The group became an artist-controlled company called Papunya Tula Artists, and is renown in the world of Aboriginal art today. According to Myers (2002), “Despite the new audience and function, Pintupi painters continued to think of their commercial paintings as related to, and derived from,

their ceremonial designs, associated with important myths and therefore possessing value other than that established in the marketplace” (p. 3). The other community artists also made it clear to Myers that people should know that “these paintings are ‘from the Dreaming,’ that they are ‘not made up,’ and that they are ‘dear’”(p. 3). Even though the form and function had changed for these artists, the value of these paintings is equated with how these designs related to their spiritual and creation beliefs.

When Aboriginal art is created for non-Aboriginal people, artists communicate “authenticity” when they attach translations of the “foreign” meanings behind the design or when they are publicly present to demonstrate the creative process. The Papunya Tula Artists expressed the importance of their spiritual designs having meaning, and an art advisor annotated the “Dreaming” stories to attach to the individual paintings in order for the white buyer to understand the “story paintings” (Myers, 2002, p. 22). In the case of the annotation of Aboriginal stories for paintings, the art advisor attaches a paper that tells the Dreaming and acts as a *marker* for the piece of art, deeming it as meaningful beyond what the consumer may perceive by viewing the art. The marking of the art with a background story is an attempt to assist non-Aboriginal people in incorporating meaning associated with the Aboriginal beliefs and traditions that add to the arts’ perceived value.

With the history of Aboriginal acrylic painting on an Aboriginal settlement, art professionals and buyers critique whether Aboriginal paintings are “authentic” in their relation to a “traditional” culture. “Traditional” in this context relates to historical materials used and cultural practices. Critics question the paintings’ form and how it has changed since Aboriginal peoples “interactions with a cultural outsider” (Myers, 2002, p. 2). The artists originally painted their designs with ochre on the body, rock, or on bark, or produced them in the sand. They have

transitioned to include Western art supplies and new forms, such as pottery and textiles that are specifically created to sell (Alder et al., 2011, p. 203). For collectors, an “authentic” piece of art would have actually been created for Aboriginal people’s own purposes or ceremony (Myers, 2002, p. 22). In these perspectives, the consumer’s evaluation of “traditional” Aboriginal art associates to “primitive” art and presumes the pre-contact traditions and untouched “natural” ways of life.

Tourist art may also be measured in relation to the history and trajectory of styles coming from a particular Aboriginal group. Morphy (1998) describes an “expectation in Western professional art” when a tradition of art continues after its generation “it is not expected to persist... except as pastiche or fakes” (p. 276). He connects this to the Hermannsburg watercolor paintings associated with Albert Namatjira and passed on to his kin, which matched the Western style, where “the artists’ adherence to a particular style is negatively valued; hence the label ‘tourist art’ is often applied in a pejorative sense to contemporary Arrente watercolours” (p. 276). With contemporary styles evolving in Aboriginal practices, Aboriginal artists struggled between being considered “producers of tourist art, which was negatively viewed as a contaminated form of primitive art,” or if their art resembled “contemporary Western art, then what they produced was taken as a sign of their assimilation” (p. 377-8).

Aboriginal art cannot be categorized so easily by binaries. Morphy (1998) states that the proposed divisions “between ‘tribal’ and ‘urban’, ‘classical’ and ‘modern’, ‘traditional’ and non-traditional’, pose more problems than they help solve” (p. 7). There cannot be a clear connection between geographical location and art style, nor are there essentialized identities related to particular artistic practices (Morphy, 1998, p. 7). Morphy (1998) explains “the major problem with any dual division is that it simplifies the variety and internal dynamism of Aboriginal art

and threatens to impose rigid external categories which constrain the development of the art and define its authenticity” (p. 7). When Aboriginal art is categorized as “authentic” if it is of a particular “style,” then that poses those other styles would be “inauthentic” and signified as lesser in value. In other words, if “traditional” pre-contact art is the only style deemed “authentic,” then there is no value in any other style of art, and art as culture is only valuable as a fixed entity.

Authenticity is also marked by the visual presentation of the artists’ labor or by labels referencing payment for labor. In the analysis of travel articles, Zeppel (1999) found that authenticity was emphasized when tourists could watch Aboriginal people working on cultural artifacts and could buy the souvenirs directly from the artists (p. 133). There was additional perceived value through the personal encounter with Aboriginal people, and the “articles indicated that money from the artifact sales went directly to the local Aboriginal communities” (p. 133). Of course, part of this “buy direct” narrative associated buying from Aboriginal people as much less expensive than the galleries in Sydney (Zeppel, 1999, p. 133). Even in my own experiences during my fieldwork, Aboriginal cultural centers and even galleries often had Aboriginal artists present and working for customers to watch or ask questions. Guides encouraged us to buy directly from Aboriginal people who would come and meet the tour buses, and the lower cost was also emphasized.

In this section I have demonstrated how art critics and consumers evaluate Aboriginal art in order for it to be “authentic.” This section has mainly focused on the history of cultural practices, the art objects’ subject matter and media, and finally, evidence of artists’ labor. I now move on to discuss the issues occurring behind-the-scenes in the Aboriginal art industry that further complicate perceptions of “authenticity.”

Behind-the-Scenes Complexities of the “Authentic” Claim

“It has become a gold-rush scene where money chases the dream of profit, where forgers, con men and thieves with plausible eyes greet you at the entrances to smart shopfronts, while Aboriginal artists sit cross-legged in backyard sheds, daubing hack works for paltry sums.”
(Rothwell, 2006)

In 2006, Rothwell published an article titled “Scams in the Desert” in *The Weekend Australian* that caught the attention of many in the Australian art world, including government authorities and Aboriginal rights groups. Rothwell discusses the issues of ethics and authenticity due to the corruption in the Aboriginal art market. According to Sands (2007) art dealers became more motivated to sell Aboriginal art when an Indigenous art painting sold for more than one million dollars Australian (\$830,000 US) at an auction in Sydney in May 2007 (para. 4). This type of money encourages many to attempt to have a piece of the profits, and as the quote above describes, some sellers are involved in questionable practices where art dealers are: forging Aboriginal art; taking advantage of artists; and, blurring the “authenticity” and legitimacy of the art (Rothwell, 2006). Rothwell’s article points to the complex and multi-layer market that at once supports Aboriginal people but simultaneously lacks any kind of monitoring or governing to protect misconduct and ensure a perceived “authentic” product.

There are many issues throughout the Aboriginal art market that bring forth questions of authenticity of the products, but a significant problem discussed among art dealers and within the Parliament of Australia’s Senate report (2007) is that of the “carpetbaggers” (cf. Parliament of Australia, 2007; Rothwell, 2006; Sands, 2007). The term “carpetbagger” describes art dealers who are “undermining an Aboriginal art industry worth up to 500 million dollars a year” (Sands, 2007 para. 5). The term refers to:

...particular individuals, backyard dealers, commercial gallery owners, private agents, or persons operating other legitimate businesses such as car yards or motels. Such a person

is usually not Indigenous and seeks to obtain art from an artist at a price well below what that person knows or ought to know is a reasonable market price, with the intention of selling it on at a substantial profit. It often involves taking advantage of the artist's age, poverty, medical condition or other disadvantage. Carpetbagging has become a problem through the combination of the great success of Indigenous art and the weak economic bargaining position in which Indigenous people frequently find themselves (Parliament of Australia, 2007, p. 101, referenced as the Senate report from here on).

The Senate report (2007) describes a non-Aboriginal person who does not pay the artist fairly, even when they know the market price is higher. The carpetbaggers take advantage of the artists' socio-economic standing to lure them with basic needs or frivolous wants. According to the media, often the artist speaks little to no English or may not understand the true value of their work of art (Sands, 2007). The more that Aboriginal art is economically valued, the higher the risk of carpetbagging increasing. The "carpetbaggers" are taking advantage of Aboriginal artists on many accounts, while simultaneously compromising the value of the Aboriginal art market and the legitimate outlets for artists.

In response to the reported exploitation and need for monitoring, the Australian Senate requested an investigation through the Standing Committee on Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts in August 2006 to examine the current size and scale of the Aboriginal arts and crafts sector, the benefits, and potential future strategies for supporting, protecting and sustaining the market (Parliament of Australia, 2007). The Senate report outlines several recommendations to incorporate strategies that would improve the ways the market is monitored, facilitated and sustained, particularly around dealing with unethical practices (Parliament of Australia, 2007, p. 97). One of those recommendations was a plan to create and implement a voluntary Indigenous Art Commercial Code of Ethics that would have a trial two-year self-implementation by the industry (Parliament of Australia, 2007, pp. xi–xii). The Indigenous Art Code (IArtC) opened for memberships in July 2010, and publicly launched with

its logo in November 2010 (indigenouartcode.org). In an update on the IArtC website dated April 2015, it was stated that IArtC Limited submitted a report to the Federal Minister for the Arts in November 2012 “recommending a Prescribed Code of Conduct for the Indigenous Visual Arts Industry” due to the continuation of:

...significant unethical and unfair treatment and exploitation of Indigenous artists by some dealers in the Industry. While the majority of dealers have acceptable professional standards and operate in good faith when dealing with Indigenous artists, the misconduct identified in the Senate Report persists and there is an unacceptable level of exploitation of Indigenous artists. The nature of the misconduct has not changed significantly since the Senate Report was published in 2007 (indigenouartcode.org, para. 14).

Unfortunately, for the sake of mandatory adherence, “Senator the Hon George Brandis QC has confirmed The Federal government has ‘decided not to pursue alternative regulatory options at this stage’ and ‘would like to see the Code continue in its voluntary capacity to allow it more time to build on its strengths’” (indigenouartcode.org, para. 15). IArtC is continuing its work in striving to produce and maintain fair trade practices between the various participants of the Indigenous art market.

Alder et al. (2011) explain that there are many media accounts explaining fraud and exploitation; however, it is difficult to really measure the crime as “there are no ‘official statistics’ regarding fraud in the art market because no policing agency in Australia... records art fraud as a separate entity from other forms of fraud” (p. 191). In the Senate report (2007), the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC) references the *Trade Practices Act 1974* (TPA) which prohibits “business conduct which is, or is likely to be, misleading or deceptive, and [prohibits] unconscionable conduct by businesses in their dealings with consumers” (p. 107). The ACCC provided a submission to the Senate investigation on the Aboriginal art market, and stated that they are aware of issues of exploitation and deception, and “they received on average between 30 and 40 per annum ‘Indigenous-specific calls’ on the

ACCC's Indigenous hotline," although they "were not all related to TPA issues" (Parliament of Australia, 2007, p. 111). The ACCC provided an example where souvenirs were falsely claimed to be "authentic and certified Aboriginal art," and took action against the company Australian Icon Products as the "souvenirs were painted by a pool of Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists and no certification process was in place" (Parliament of Australia, 2007, pp. 110–111). Alder et al. (2011) state that we presume the criminal justice system would handle crimes of deception and fraud, but in their research they found only "two cases in Australia over recent years... involving Aboriginal art" (p. 193-4). They also see the potential for fraud and deception increasing as the value of Aboriginal art increases, but the legal system is ineffective in dealing with these crimes, both at the criminal and civil justice system levels, and the police are reluctant or inexperienced in investigating art fraud (Alder et al., 2011, pp. 204–205). The statements from media, scholars and government recognize there is a problem of deception and fraud in the Aboriginal art market, but the means of educating Aboriginal people in their communities, creating a governing body to uphold rules, and creating a precedence in the justice system are all lacking.

The art industry's questions of "authenticity" also relate to conceptions of "authorship." There is the situation where an "established non-Aboriginal artist named Elizabeth Durack used Aboriginal styles in her work, and signed her work 'Eddie Burrup'" (Alder et al., 2011, p. 201), or where the Senate report (2007) stated that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people were painting souvenirs marked as Aboriginal. In 1999, the National Indigenous Arts Advocacy Association (NIAAA) launched the "Label of Authenticity" to provide a national certification that declared art as created and produced by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders. Unfortunately, it was disbanded in 2002 and the labels were not assigned to another organization (Board of

Studies NSW, 2007). Besides unapologetically using Aboriginal designs, the artists hiding their non-Aboriginal identities in Aboriginal marked goods can be seen as an embodied colonization of Aboriginal people, where non-Aboriginal people profit from appropriating Aboriginal culture. Heyd (2003) explains appropriation as “a continuation of European colonial appropriation of land and other resources” (p. 38). The authenticity question also arises when an Aboriginal artist paints in a style that is of a different geographic region than their birth country (Myers, 2004), or of a different heritage such as the Aboriginal artist painting in an imitation of a Tiwi style (Alder et al., 2011, p. 202). In this situation, instead of a non-Aboriginal person painting in Aboriginal styles, the Aboriginal artist is using Aboriginal motifs and designs that do not belong to their language group. As Haynes (2010) sees “commodification as appropriation” (p. 175), the art industry and intermediaries use these examples to demonstrate the complexities of authenticity when both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people commodify or appropriate Aboriginal art.

In these “behind-the-scenes” scenarios, the Aboriginal art market questions “authenticity” when artists are taken advantage of through unfair pay and forced situations. In this section, I have also demonstrated that the government and art market have limited means and knowledge to monitor and ensure ethical practices for artists. This is especially significant when the Federal government has maintained a “self-implemented” ethical code rather than making it mandatory for art industry participants to follow. Finally, I have illustrated how both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people appropriate Aboriginal art when identities are hidden or when the artist does not own the Dreaming stories they paint. These types of deception problematize concepts of authorship. Each of these scenarios is significant as I argue that the producers of tourist arts semiotically and discursively mark their products to respond to many of the anxieties over “authenticity” as it relates to fine art. I illustrate how tourist art producers appropriate fine art

processes through tradition and the exotic “Other,” signs of labor, and high-culture and uniqueness, after a brief discussion of my semiotic approach.

Social Semiotics of “Authentic” Tourist Arts

This chapter focuses on the semiotic and discursive construction of “authenticity.”⁵⁴ The signs and discourses of Aboriginal art and souvenirs’ labels and displays frame and mark these cultural objects as meaningful. As van Leeuwen (2005) describes semiotics, the semiotic resources available in realms of communication are not signs with given meanings, but rather resources with “meaning potential” influenced by the context of the social practices in which they are a part (p. xi). The semiotician needs to “inventory” the semiotic resources and “describ[e] its use in a specific context” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 6). In my examination of the production of “authenticity” in Aboriginal tourist arts, I am not attempting to understand the meaning of the iconography or the “signs” present as the subject of Aboriginal art, but examine what Myers (2004) explains above as the “signifieds in practice” (p. 265).

In this chapter, I analyze the production of “authenticity” produced through the themes of tourist art and souvenirs present in photos I have taken during my fieldwork in Australia. Some of these photos were taken in public areas that any one of us may pass through on a journey through Australia. Others were taken at my home after I purchased the tourist products. In order to understand how the tourist art creators discursively produce “authenticity,” I analyze the labeling and marking of Aboriginal tourist art and souvenirs in tourism spaces around Australia. For my fieldwork, I traveled through Sydney, Canberra, Alice Springs, Ayers Rock Resort and Uluru, Adelaide, Perth, and some of their surrounding areas. The sampling that I provide here is

⁵⁴ Portions of this section have appeared in Mroczek (2009).

representative of the presentation of Aboriginality and commodification of Aboriginal art that I witnessed across a variety of these tourism settings in Australia. It was not uncommon to see the same brands of merchandise in most of these locations.

For my souvenir compilation, I collected photos or merchandise of the items that incorporated Aboriginal art: coffee cups, notepads, bookmarks, t-shirts, scarves, dish towels, eyeglass cloths, pillow cushions, neck ties and even jewelry. There were plenty of souvenirs that depicted the common kangaroos, crocodiles, emus, koala bears and scenic icons, but these were not the focus of my research unless they were done with the recognizable Aboriginal art styles or motifs. I then organized my photos and physical objects according to their labeling to recognize the dominant semiotic and discursive themes found across the souvenir products. For example, those that mentioned royalties or included photos, or those that mentioned Dreaming stories or artist information. My analysis section is organized by the dominant themes I have recognized across the merchandise, such as: “Other” through tradition and ceremony; labor and fair pay; and, high culture and cultural capital.

In this chapter, I use van Leeuwen’s (2005) dimensions of semiotic analysis, and specifically his concepts of *genre*, *discourse* and *style*. I begin with the concept of *genre*, which van Leeuwen (2005) explains as the “how” of communication (p. 117) or the “type of text” (p. 122). Producers of texts follow different rules or formats that readers may interact with in a certain way. For example, the social practices related to producing labels for consumer products, such as souvenirs, include a heavy paper or tag that provides some expected information. There would typically be a brand name, or the company who created the product, along with their logo for brand recognition. The consumer may see the location of that business or a website address. The genre of the label is informational for the buyer to learn more about the product that is for

sale. This may include where the item is made, what the item is made from and a price. van Leeuwen (2005) describes genres as having recognizable “characteristics of content, form and function” (p. 123). According to van Leeuwen (2005), in social semiotics “content is studied under the heading of ‘discourse’, rather than under the heading of ‘genre’” (p. 123). Therefore, I will examine the content within the genre of Australian tourist art, which includes *discourse* and *style*.

Discourse relates to the “what” of communication, or the representations and “meaning” that tell a story. van Leeuwen (2005) builds on the work of Foucault in defining discourses as “socially constructed knowledges of some aspect of reality” (p. 94). The knowledges put forward through semiotics and discourses can consist of “norms of ‘lived’ experience, structures of organization, systems of regulation, and kinds of identity” (Hall, 2012, p. 148). The plural form of “discourses” expresses “there can be and are several ways of knowing—and hence also of representing—the same ‘object of knowledge,’” so the social context of representations is key in understanding communication (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 94). In Australia’s tourism spaces, I examine the stories conveyed by the tourism industry with their use of Aboriginal art and motifs. I also will analyze the production of “authenticity” through the labeling of tourist arts. However, the discourses do not function alone; they are produced and expressed strategically to convey a specific meaning also utilizing the resource of *style*.

In social semiotics, the notion of style is “a manner of writing, speaking or doing, especially as contrasted with the matter to be expressed or thing done” (*Concise Oxford Dictionary* in van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 139) van Leeuwen (2005) explains that there are “three approaches to the idea of ‘style’” that are not mutually exclusive: *individual*, *social style*, and the combination of these two is “lifestyle” (pp. 140-8). Individual style references uniqueness in

identity, such as handwriting styles or even forms of expression (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 140). Social style in semiotics acts as “markers” that “tell you where someone comes from, what their gender, age and class is, what kind of activities they are engaged in, what role they play vis-à-vis other participants of these activities, and what form or medium of communication they are using...,” which relates to ideologies (van Leeuwen, 2005, pp. 143–4). In their combination, lifestyles relate to shared group styles that are created and recognized through shared consumer practices, leisure activities, and attitudes, but also “signified by *appearances*” through clothing or aesthetic styles (van Leeuwen, 2005, pp. 144–5). Style also refers to the ways marketers strategically use language to “model the identities and values of consumer society,” both through content like adjectives or poetic devices, and visually through typeface and formatting (van Leeuwen, 2005, pp. 149–53). *Style* and *discourses* invariably are used together to produce a particular intended meaning, and I will address them together in my analysis of “authenticity” of tourist art presentations.

The Production of “Authenticity” in Tourist Arts

Throughout this chapter I have demonstrated how “authenticity” is perceived and how value of Aboriginal art is discursively and symbolically situated through an “art-culture-system” (Clifford, 1988). This is primarily a debate in higher-end art from Art Centres and galleries, but also applies to the tourism souvenir trade. Many tourists may not care whether the trinket they purchase is “authentic” or actually produced and circulated in a fair trade manner. Yet, souvenir producers and art intermediaries go to great lengths to present markers that project “authenticity” and respond to anxieties around ethical treatment and legitimacy. They demonstrate that the products are actually designed through tradition and by an exotic “Other” and show fair

compensation of labor, and because of this, are actually “authentic.” The semiotics and discourses of “authenticity” are then used for the producer to accrue cultural capital through symbols of “high-culture” and uniqueness. In this section, I examine the semiotics of “authenticity” across Aboriginal-themed souvenirs.

Tradition and the Exotic “Other”

Cultural or artistic “authenticity” has as much to do with an inventive present as with a past, its objectification, preservation, or revival (Clifford, 1988, p. 222).

When “authenticity” is associated with idealized representations of tradition, history and an unchanged cultural present (Clifford, 1988), discourses claiming the “authentic” in Aboriginal fine art focus on ceremony and contrasts between “tradition” and contemporary styles (Myers, 2002). In anthropological writing:

Traditionalist accounts of indigenous peoples support a vision of the world in which at least some portions of it, some peoples of it, remain customary, unchanged, and therefore different from ‘us,’ inherent and unreflective in their relation to their ‘culture’ (Merlan, 1998, p. 4).

This is also an expectation that carries over into the evaluation and critique of Aboriginal art. In this section, I argue that the producers of tourist arts semiotically and discursively present a relation to ceremony and tradition through Dreamtime stories and proof of stories passed through generations in response to government and art industry concerns of loss of cultural preservation or integrity. “Authenticity” is manufactured through an emphasis of the “Other’s” cultural practices and spiritual beliefs.



Figure 5-1 Souvenir packaging

The Dreamtime story presented with a piece of art signifies both a connection to ceremony and the “traditional” culture, and assist the non-Aboriginal buyer in understanding a deeper meaning or significance of the motifs (cf. Myers, 2002). This is a common practice with Art Centres and galleries, and is carried over in even the most banal tourist arts as part of the packaging or labeling. In Figure 5-1, a display of Aboriginal art styled boxes, with a coordinating souvenir dish inside, includes the Dreamtime story on one side of the cube. The black background with rounded corners is labeled “The Painting” and the body of the text states the country and how this Dreamtime story relates to that country. The black background emphasizes the text on the brightly colored box, so that the stark contrast highlights the text as an important element. On the right side of the text is a small version of the full painting. Clearly, the design on the box and that on the coordinating dish cannot depict the layout and scope of the full painting, but each becomes a physical metonym, where a piece of the design comes to stand for the whole.

Each of this particular brand’s packaging also has a black rounded square on an alternative side of the package that tells about the artist. There is a photo of a smiling woman

with a name below the image (Judy Napangardi Watson). Judy's place of birth or country is mentioned as well as how she learned to paint from her sister. On this particular labeling, the explanation of the artist is written in a paragraph form in a personalized style.

Judy Napangardi Watson was born at Yarungkanji, Mt. Doreen Station, at the time when many Warlpiri & other Central & Western Desert Peoples were living a traditional nomadic life. With her family Judy made many trips on foot to her country & lived for long periods at Mina Mina & Yingipurlangu, her ancestral country on the border of the Tanami and Gibson Deserts.

Judy was taught painting by her elder sister, Maggie Napangardi Watson. She painted alongside her at Warlukurlangu artists for a number of years, developing her own unique style... (Quoted from souvenir box)

This packaging provides a narrative story of the artist's life. It is a casual conversational style with mentions of her younger years and time with her sister. The text also provides a reference to a simpler time ("living a traditional nomadic life"), when people traveled on foot through "their" country, and discourses of tradition with the art being passed on through family members. This personal background story, alongside Watson's Dreamtime story, paints an image of the "traditional" culture, and suggests painting as a cultural practice pre-colonial contact. The use of "story" acts as a marker to give the buyer the perception of knowing the background of the artist, and the impression of her historical connection to her family's nomadic or "traditional" lifestyle. The "traditional" lifestyle is also demonstrated in the passing of painting knowledge through kinship. All of these are reminiscent of the "traditional native" stereotypes, and when placed in correlation to the Dreamtime story, the producer of the object semiotically and discursively produces notions of ceremony and the unchanged traditional culture. Even though this is a contemporary and mass-produced item, the consumer has a symbolic representation of what we have come to learn as "the oldest living culture." The emphasis on the Dreamtime and tradition indicates that even through commercialization, Aboriginal culture has still been preserved. These

markers of “tradition” and ceremony play on the nostalgia and respond to the consumers’ anxieties that mourn the disappearing imagined “traditional” culture (cf. Bruner, 2005; Franklin, 2010; Salazar, 2010). The product is perceived as “authentic” through these processes, and the artist as “Other” is highlighted.



Figure 5-2 Dreaming T-shirt



Figure 5-3 Dreaming T-shirt Display

Other products didn’t make quite as big of a production in associating the products with narratives of Dreamings or traditional relationships to land; however, there was still a token connection. In these common situations of souvenir labeling, a mere mention of the artist and a short version of the Dreaming story demonstrated a minor attempt by souvenir companies to relate their product to the Aboriginal “Other.” In Figure 5-2, the labeling on a screen printed t-shirt is one example of these basic demonstrations of Aboriginal art as signifying an Aboriginal story of spirituality. The top line of the tag says “Rainbow Serpent,” with the artist’s name directly below. There is then a brief six lines telling of the spiritual story regarding the Rainbow

Serpent, its walk through the land and the creation of nature in its wake. This very short explanation of the Rainbow Serpent Dreaming is then repeated in two other languages directly below the first. The producers' use of multiple languages on the packaging emphasizes their perceived consumers as from diverse places. Not only do the t-shirt and labeling signify Aboriginal spirituality, but also the use of Aboriginal culture to market the t-shirt highlights Aboriginal people as distinctively part of the Australian tourism brand. When tourists desire to collect symbols of their destinations, this product is marketed to enable multiple language groups to collect the iconic Aboriginal "tradition" of the Dreaming. Even on a T-shirt, Aboriginalization of products is highlighted. The Aboriginalization as it pertains to the national tourism identity is especially striking from a macro- perspective when viewing the entire displays in both Figure 5-1 and 5-3.

A T-shirt is a very common tourism souvenir that tourists may buy for themselves or for others as a gift upon their return. The previous example of the highly-designed and produced packaging and souvenir item may evoke a more "authentic" product because of the amount of detail of both the story of the artist and of the spiritual background of the painting. In narrative, when the story is detailed in nature it gives the "impression of verisimilitude to the hearer, and thus makes situations appear very real" (Tannen (1991) in De Fina, 2003, p. 117). However, this T-shirt example provides the most elementary function of teaching about Aboriginal culture, and when giving it to someone (or buying it for yourself), the *symbols* of Aboriginality are again brought to the foreground over the cultural history, details or practices. Dann (1996) references souvenir dolls dressed in national costume and states, they "are simply culture packaged according to a few recognizable characteristics" (p. 66). The Rainbow Serpent story is so brief that someone could potentially memorize the story attached to their shirt, or once the tag is

removed, the shirt still claims “Rainbow Serpent” and “Aboriginal Art Australia.” The information on the tag transitions to the T-shirt itself as a marker for Aboriginal art and Dreaming as a part of Australia. The Aboriginal symbols are once again embraced, but the people are no longer signified (Errington, 2010). The Aboriginal art is a design commodified to sell a T-shirt, with the “essence” of “authenticity” in the story to provide context. Non-Aboriginal people can view the information and visual images of Aboriginal culture as shorthand or cliff notes for understanding what Aboriginal art looks like, and what it may mean. As Bourdieu (2006a) explains:

A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded... A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason (p. 323).

Consumers can enjoy the “essence” of Aboriginality when the objects are marked with these brief background details. The producers of the art products create the link with the “Other” culture. As these products exist in a souvenir shop in Sydney, they represent Aboriginal culture as a convenient token of experiencing the “Other,” without tourists needing to interact with the creators of the designs.

The Dreaming story and narratives of tradition placed upon mass-produced souvenirs produces a traditional versus contemporary juxtaposition. Culler (1981) explains that the “tacky representations” of tourist souvenirs have essential semiotic functions (p. 133). As a “copy” of the original, “the markers remain surprisingly important: one may continually refer to the marker to discover what features of the sight are indeed significant...” (p. 133). With the packaging and labeling marking the souvenirs, we are simultaneously reminded of cultural differences where Aboriginal people have had long-established cultural practices; at the same time those cultural symbols are placed on trinkets that signify contemporary tourism. The traditional and spiritual

aspects of Aboriginal culture are upheld as a reminder for tourists to know where to focus their gaze.

Signs of Labor

...whatever the other conditions which make an artist's work possible, it is important that he or she work hard to achieve a certain goal. It is not enough, in the ideology [projected] just to want to paint, or to paint because that is all one can do. Labour value, it is assumed, is an accepted part of the value of the aesthetic product (Benterrak, Muecke, & Roe, 1984, p. 142).

In this quote Benterrak, Muecke and Roe (1984) emphasize “the assumptions which align with dominant ideas on culture and life and have nothing necessarily to do with art” (p. 142). Their discussion focuses on Australian artist Fred Williams laboring to find his own style and focus, training in Europe (as all elites do), and returning to Australia to establish his artistic credentials. This analysis points to the power of the ideology of the art critic(s) and shows the dominant perspective of the critic “projecting responsible, mature, middle-class urban beliefs” (Benterrak et al., 1984, p. 143), which emphasizes Western perceptions of value and aesthetic. In other words, the “Labour value” is associated with elements such as time spent, individual style, and recognition of the artist’s name.

As Aboriginal fine art has gained more recognition through these Western perceptions of value and aesthetic, there are more people who engage in disreputable practices in the art industry to take advantage of Aboriginal artists. I have made references to many of the unethical practices in the “Behind the Scenes” section earlier in this chapter. The Senate report (2007) particularly highlighted the role of the “carpetbagger” who positions themselves as an art representative or intermediary and pays little to the artists while knowing high market values. The carpetbagger takes advantage of Aboriginal artists who require medical care or other basic

needs. Other times well-known artists are in need of money and the “artist goes to town, paints a few works quickly for a ‘private dealer’ and gets paid in cash or grog or—the preferred currency—a second-hand four-wheel-drive” (Rothwell, 2006, p. 22). Rothwell (2006) explains that artists are also offered “prostitutes, Viagra, pornographic DVDs, even Valium” (p. 22). Liesl Rockchild, who coordinates a program that markets Aboriginal artists around Alice Springs, tells of “one artist, whose work recently sold for 15,000 dollars in Italy, had been paid only 100 dollars for some of her paintings” (Rockchild in Sands, 2007 para. 17). Rockchild also reports her knowledge of seventeen “backyard art factories” in Alice Springs, where Aboriginal artists are locked up in industrial buildings that do not advertise their connection to any particular gallery (Sands, 2007). These types of statements of abuse, both through mainstream media and government reports, highlight the fact that Aboriginal artists are both taken advantage of and often in impoverished situations. For the art industry, a presentation of fair pay and fair labor practices positions the art intermediary as legitimate and ethical.

In this section of “Signs of Labor,” I discuss the perception of “authenticity” as it relates to “fair pay,” “Aboriginal ownership” and “proof of authorship” in artworks. In the “fair pay” section, I argue that Aboriginal Art Centres’ markers on tourism arts are responding to the fine art consumer anxieties of exploiting Aboriginal artists. In “Aboriginal ownership,” I argue that Aboriginal-owned Art Centres are able to use discourses of fair pay and community to emphasize their own abilities to self-manage and have a voice in the dominant tourism industry. Aboriginal producers are positioned to take control of the discourses of “authenticity,” and in turn, their own representations. In my discussion of “proof of authorship,” I also draw upon the fine art industry’s concerns of Aboriginal authorship and evaluate the concerns for reputable practices as it is transferred to souvenir projects. Similar to the previous section on ceremony and

tradition of the “Other,” producers manufacture perceptions of “authenticity” through semiotics and discourse across these three categories of labor.

Fair Pay for Artists.

In discussions of “fine” art, the amount of time the piece of art takes is associated with its value, and this turns to ethics related to the artists’ pay. There is evidence of this measure of labor during the early marketing of Aboriginal arts around the mid-1940s (Williams, 1976). During this time, a missionary at Yirrkala paid Aboriginal people between two to five shillings for each cultural artifact they made, and the value was based on the “amount of work that had been expended in their manufacture and the ‘workmanship’ apparent in the finished product” (p. 273). I have demonstrated elsewhere that there are questionable practices throughout the Aboriginal art industry that has brought the issue of fair pay to light. According to the Senate report (2007), one reference of authenticity is through the education of consumers where the aim is to ensure “the arts’ authenticity, and that the customer can be confident that payments provided are of fair value and that the money will be provided to the recognised, legitimate artist” (p. 89). The souvenir and tourist arts industry semiotically and discursively positions itself in this ethical role, and therefore portrays “authenticity” through educating consumers of its fair practices.

During one of my first visits to an Art Centre, I was offered unsolicited information about how much commission the artists make off of the paintings.

There are four Aboriginal owned Centres in this area... The Cultural Centre gives 56% of the sales to the artists and the other 44% is used for staff and operations” (conversation with Amelia, July 4, 2013).

In a situation where the Art Centre sends artists work to a commercial gallery,

...the gallery often takes 40% and then the 60% that goes to [the Art Centre] would be divided with 56% of that amount going to the artists” (conversation with Amelia, July 4, 2013).

I quickly learned that this is one of the standard conversations that people selling Aboriginal art present to their potential customers. In a commercial gallery, I was offered the information that artists receive 40% of commission (field notes, July 7, 2013). And, in another Art Centre I was told that items are purchased outright from artists so they are paid up front (field notes, July 15, 2013). This clearly was a discursive theme where sellers wanted to present their own identity as providing ethical treatment in the payment for their Aboriginal artists.

This presentation of payment for Aboriginal artists was also apparent in the souvenir industry, where information presented on labels produced discourses of payment. When the Aboriginal art market is politically and publicly critiqued for unfair labor practices, tourist art producers and sellers also have a stake in positioning their own practice as ethical. Bourdieu (2006b) states that linguistic production is “affected by the anticipation of market sanctions” and



Figure 5-4 Warlukurlangu



Figure 5-5 Utopia

communication practices can maximize the author’s symbolic profit (p. 484). Bourdieu was speaking of verbal expressions, but the same can be applied to other discursive forms. When producers anticipate the tensions of the market, they are able to discursively position the reputation they want to portray.

In the three examples provided here in Figures 5-4, 5-5 and 5-6, we can see that the souvenir producers emphasized payments to Aboriginal artists; however, the information provided on tourism souvenir packaging was especially vague. In Figure 5-4, the notepad from Warlukurlangu, states, “Royalties from these products directly benefit the artist and their community.” Figure 5-5, a notepad from Utopia states, “Royalties from this product go back to the artist and community.” And, Figure 5-6 states “Royalties from the sale of licensed products go to TOBWABBA ART and benefit the Worimi community.” These statements appear similar in meaning, but Figures 5-4 and 5-5 explicitly state that the royalties benefit “the artist” as well as the community, where 5-6 does not mention the artist separately. Both Figures 5-4 and 5-5 make the statement of the royalties as a line that stands on its own under the logo of the



Figure 5-6 TOBWABBA

corporation. The separation of this statement highlights the producers' perceived importance for the consumer. Figure 5-6 provides more of a discussion of what TOBWABBA ART depicts, and how it relates to the community. The mention of the royalties does not stand out in this larger description. In fact, most of the information is a fine print, with the company name in all capital letters standing out in relation to the rest of the text.

Out of these three products, only Utopia (Figure 5-5) states that it is designed and printed in Australia. Utopia is also designating the copyright to the artist through the gallery ("Josie Kunoth Petyarre through Mbantua Gallery..."), where the other copyrights are given to the brand, which we presume to be the Art Centre (Figure 5-4 "©Warlukurlangu Artists Aboriginal Corporation" and 5-6 "©TOBWABBA ART"). Figure 5-4 only states that the item is "Made in China; Recycled Paper" while 5-6 was "Designed in Australia, printed in Hong Kong." The more generic copyrights (i.e. not copyrighted to the artist's name) are produced outside of Australia. Each of these products produced outside of Australia also have two business names on the packaging, which we can presume is the Aboriginal artists community, and the other is the manufacturer or printer of the products.

In my own experience of visiting Art Centres and galleries and being told about portions of profits for the Aboriginal artists, the souvenir industry is mimicking the practices of telling potential buyers about sharing profits with artists. In this way, I argue that the tourist art businesses are situating themselves in a reputable art position by responding to the demands of the Senate report and those in support of the Indigenous Art Code with narratives of fair pay. The "authenticity" is being manufactured through designations of royalties and statements that promise a "share" of the economic benefit for Aboriginal people, even though it omits the details of how much. Even the suggestion of royalties can provide cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) for

these tourist art businesses and make their products stand apart from others. I now turn to analyze how Aboriginal owned tourism businesses create cultural capital through discourses of benefits for the Aboriginal community.



Figure 5-7 Warlukurlangu Artists

Emphasis on Aboriginal-Owned Art Centres.

A related practice of the discourses of royalties is the production of identity of the product brand, especially in the case of Aboriginal owned Art Centres. When businesses are explicitly identified as being Aboriginal owned, the consumer is able to recognize Aboriginal people as having their own role in the souvenir and tourist arts market. For the consumer, this product may appear to be “more authentic” when directly related to the Aboriginal artists and their community. This symbolically resembles consumers desire to buy directly from the artist or see them create their work (Zeppel, 1999). Consumers’ ability to recognize Aboriginal people’s participation responds to issues of fair pay when the Aboriginal owned company is managing the products and the economic distribution, and gives the perception of more direct benefit than

when the profits go through other venues. For Aboriginal businesses, I argue that marking their products as created and owned by Aboriginal people declares legitimacy of the art goods, ethical pay for the artist and their community, and positions the Aboriginal owners to successfully self-managing their interests.

Through the 1970s to 1990s, the government focus on the Aboriginal arts and crafts market vacillated between Aboriginal employment and economic goals, and cultural value or preservation (Myers, 2002, p. 186). Myers (2002) explains how the Papunya Tula Artists and the original acrylic painting movement grew out of what was called the “Aboriginal problem,” where the government created policies to attempt to assimilate, and later push Aboriginal people towards “self-determination” through their own cultural values and sense of self (pp. 129-131).⁵⁵ In Australia with its history of the so-called “Aboriginal problem,” the Aboriginal owned Art Centre’s statements of ownership on these souvenir labels are significant; these stories position Australian Aboriginal people as creating a space to self-manage and to have a voice in the dominant souvenir production industry.

Warlukurlangu, Artists of Yuendumu, is one example of these products (Figure 5-4 and 5-7). On one side of the card is a paragraph that explains what Warlukurlangu Artists’ Aboriginal Corporation is and that it is owned and governed by Aboriginal people.

Warlukurlangu means “belonging to fire” in Warlpiri, and is named after a Fire Dreaming west of Yuendumu. Owned and governed by its more than 600 members, Warlukurlangu art centre is famous for its gloriously colourful acrylic paintings and fine limited-edition prints. Many of its member’s works are highly collectable. Established in 1985, Warlukurlangu Artists’ Aboriginal Corporation has a well regarded international profile... the art centre is both a stronghold of traditional Warlpiri culture and an essential part of Yuendumu’s community life (Warlukurlangu Artists of Yuendumu, souvenir tag).

⁵⁵ See Myers (2002) for his critique on how the economic and cultural compete and complicate issues for Aboriginal people when they have a culture that is “not built on a monetized economy” (p. 131).

The statement of identity for the Aboriginal Company first connects their name in the Warlpiri language to an English translation. The Art Centre is presented as owned and governed by a large number of people, which connotes a cooperative community working together for a shared goal. When we see the declaration “Royalties from these products directly benefit the artist and their community,” the Art Centre gives the perception that the purchase of this item will benefit many (even though the price of the bookmarks would not go far divided by 600)! The purchaser also learns of the “limited-edition” prints, which again, distorts the fact that this very object is mass-produced with no statement of total numbers produced. The statements of “limited-edition,” “collectability,” and international recognition are demonstrations of value, where in fine art, “recognition by cultural authorities,” such as collectors, “legitimizes the value of objects and informs others that such objects are distinctive...” (Myers, 2002, p. 199). In fine art, “artists’ biographies always include their exhibitions and collection history as evidence of their value” (Myers, 2002, p. 199). The overview of “collectability” is much more brief on this tourism object, but it can be argued that this mimicry of high-end practices also marks the souvenir (and its producer) as legitimate and distinctive in the arena of mass-produced tourism arts. Finally, similar to Judy Napangardi Watson’s story above, there are references to “traditional Warlpiri culture” and to the community life, which equates the product and the people to traditional practices and processes of art.

Both the promise of royalties and the sharing of profits through Aboriginal community owned Art Centres on tourist art labels respond to the anxieties of unfair labor practices and pay. Visitors purchasing tourist arts are less likely to put as much time into their purchase as they would if they were purchasing a high-end piece of art. Tourists who purchase tourist arts may just be looking for a souvenir or gift, and “do not have a particular knowledge of or interest in

Indigenous art” (Parliament of Australia, 2007, p. 189). They are sign collectors seeking out the references or essences of a place (Franklin, 2003, p. 8), and are “gatherers of sensations” (Z. Bauman, 1998, p. 83). Tourist arts will vary from fine art marketing even when it is mimicking the concerns for inequitable labor practices; Pascoe (1981) states it should have “brisk and efficient presentation in inexpensive tourist and gift shops” (Pascoe, 1981, in Myers, 2002, p. 191). The “brisk” marketing for tourists provides them with brief descriptions, shorthand to the meanings within Aboriginal culture, and states (or suggests) the product as actually Aboriginal produced. When choosing from a large quantity of potential (often generic) tourism souvenirs, these brief markings of “authenticity” give tourists the option to select based on “fair trade” and fair labor practices. This resembles campaigns such as (RED)⁵⁶ where consumers can make a “choice that is socially responsible and aesthetically pleasing” (Bell, 2011, p. 164). The tourist may not have any knowledge of the exploitation of Aboriginal artists and unfair labor practices, but the presence of this statement promising royalties alludes to the fact that some other products may not share profits. In the case of these Australian Aboriginal tourist arts, the consumer has the option to act socially responsible by purchasing a product that claims shared profits with the Aboriginal artist or community. While other generic souvenir trinkets are symbols for a place, those that are purchased because they are Aboriginal art create a symbolic representation of Australia’s Aboriginal people. The label that states Aboriginal ownership allows the non-Aboriginal consumer to believe that they are directly contributing and supporting the “Other,” while they also get to take home the “essence” of Aboriginality. In addition, the purchaser may perceive this product as more “authentic” than other souvenir trinkets due to its promise of royalty sharing. I now turn to expand on my argument that the “Aboriginal owned Art Centre”

⁵⁶ The (RED) campaign, created by Bono, a U2 rock icon, partners with major corporations (i.e. Apple, Gap, etc.) to designate a portion of profits of some products to raise money for AIDS treatment and prevention (Bell, 2011, p. 164).

positions Aboriginal people as playing an independent role in self-managing their tourist arts business, which also enables them to have a voice in the dominant tourism industry.

Art Centres are the center of the Australian Indigenous art and crafts market, and they exist both in the remote Aboriginal communities as well as in the cities (Parliament of Australia, 2007). Art Centres are generally Aboriginal owned with an Aboriginal board, and act as a not-for-profit entity while acting “as an agent for the production and sale of art works for community members” (Parliament of Australia, 2007, p. 27). Many types of Art Centres are also able to obtain government funding. One of the earliest Art Centres was operating in the mid-1980s in Alice Springs (Myers, 2002, p. 13). This center sold the art by Western Desert painters from the Papunya community, and the Papunya Tula Artists “went on to make their mark in the stubbornly Eurocentric world of contemporary Australian art” when the “painting movement they started spread ‘everywhere’ in an explosion of artistic creativity still reverberating across Indigenous Australia—and the world” (Johnson, 2014, p. 3). Rothwell (2006) explains that “Not only is the [Papunya Tula] catalogue number on a painting a guarantee of authenticity (and so desirable it is now often imitated); it also suggests a work of some quality, as the company has a high reputation to protect” (p. 19). James, an art professional that was working towards implementing a standardized and mandatory code, describes Aboriginal owned art organizations:

To my mind, the first and most important faction... are those Aboriginal owned organizations which deal with their art and culture. There are lots of them, and they range from... quite high in... organized land agencies like the Land Councils down to specific Art Centres in remote communities (personal interview, July 22, 2013).

The Art Centres have a good reputation across the art industry for being Aboriginal owned and for being in locations where Aboriginal people can benefit from them. While they are commonly considered not-for-profit centers, they are positive resources for economic advancement. James gives an example of the economic benefit of one Centre:

The large Aboriginal community...has organized a great Art Centre out there which is community owned. The Art Centre turns over something like two million dollars per year. The majority—well all of that money essentially—apart from salaries that are paid... all of that money comes back to the artists and the Art Centre to run its business (personal interview, July 22, 2013).

Aboriginal owned Art Centres can be very successful and function in a way that benefits everyone involved.

When Art Centres highlight Aboriginal ownership, the “authentic” is produced through Aboriginal people placed as “authorities” of their own designs. Returning to Figures 5-4 and 5-7, even though there is this detailed information provided for Warlukurlangu Artists of Yuendumu, and a website of “warlu.com,” the other side of the bookmark card states:

Designed & developed in Australia by Alperstein Designs.
Made in China to Alperstein Designs quality specifications.

A very small Alperstein Designs logo and their website is immediately under these two lines.

According to Alperstein’s website, they are an Australian owned company and their creative team:

collaborates with prominent Australian Artists and Designers to produce a unique range of products that appeal to both people abroad and Australians alike” (alpersteindesigns.com.au/pages/about-us, accessed May 4, 2016).

Warlukurlangu’s website states the artists have “led the way in producing a large range of licensed products,” and the “Products are sold with the name of the artist and the story for the design” (warlu.com/shop/other-products/, accessed May 4, 2016).

The emphasis of the Artists’ Corporation, the royalties for the Aboriginal community and the statement of licensed products places the Aboriginal artists in the position of authority over “authenticity.” For example, the card with the magnetic bookmarks has the colorful printed Warlukurlangu logo printed on both sides. The artists’ names, title of works and websites are printed very small on the back of the actual bookmarks. The information about Alperstein

Designs is also in a very small font at the bottom of one side of the card. The prominent features are really the logo, the Warlukurlangu Artists of Yuendumu titles, and then half of the space of the card is about the Corporation rather than a story of Dreamtime or details of a particular artist. This visual and textual emphasis places the Corporation and the Aboriginal *community's* designs over other information, such as individual artists names and the producer of the product. This is significant in a place that has a history of devaluing Aboriginal art and not recognizing Aboriginal artists as contributing work of significance to the art world (Morphy, 1998, p. 377). A critical issue surrounding Aboriginal art in Australia:

is whether the Aboriginal arts movement represents political progress and lays the foundation for a more autonomous future for Aboriginals, or whether the whole phenomenon is a marketing strategy that has been carefully stage-managed by non-Aboriginal bureaucrats and art dealers with the possibility of Aboriginal self-management receding further into the future (Fry & Willis, 2004, p. 199).

The prominent presentation of an Aboriginal owned co-operative demonstrates self-management, and also a business savvy in partnering with other companies to produce their wares. The Aboriginal Corporation linguistically performs their identity through a “situated, interactional, communicatively motivated” practice (R. Bauman, 2000, p. 1) on the tourist arts label, which positions themselves as independent and “self-determined.” With the presentation of Aboriginal people managing their own artistic presence, they are creating a space that does represent political progress with a window of creating their own representations and having a voice in the dominant tourism arts industry.

Proof of Authorship.

Even if there were Art Codes and government monitoring in place, another complexity to the question of “authenticity” in artwork is proof of authorship. This has historically been the

case across the art world, for example when European artists had an entire studio of students who helped with their work, or when an art piece is unverifiable because the work is in the style of someone well known. The same is true for Aboriginal art. The complexities that surround authorship in Aboriginal art include differences of Aboriginal people's practices of "Dreaming" stories, whether they were passed down to the artist, and how those designs relate to specific geographic locations. Alder et al. (2011) explain that there are two questions that should be addressed when considering "authenticity" related to Aboriginal art: "1) is the named artist the author of the work, and 2) is the work being considered a genuine Aboriginal product" (p. 198). In the signing of the artist's name issues may include: a piece was "faked" by someone else and the art and signature are not genuine (Alder et al., 2011, p. 198); the artist was given permission to paint a particular Dreaming story as a family member or honorary family member (cf. Alder et al., 2011; Myers, 2004); the person who signed the piece did not do the work where family members or students may do the painting, or the work was done in collaboration (Alder et al., 2011, p. 199). These questions of authorship relate to the media accounts where a highly valued artist ends up with art pieces of lesser value when others do the work, or the market becomes saturated with a lot of works signed by this person.

Art professionals and buyers are concerned of the accuracy or "truth" of the authorship of Aboriginal works for sale. One reason is in the interest of providing ethical treatment in the payment for Aboriginal artists, as I've discussed above; and, another is the ethical treatment to protect artists from the other questionable practices of the "carpetbaggers" and the art intermediaries taking advantage of artists. Therefore, I argue that art producers and sellers emphasize "truth" in the products through highlighting the company's own reputable practices. The buyer's anxiety is especially applicable when purchasing art in the thousands of dollars

range, but any consumer is concerned with getting what they have paid for. For example, if you believe you are purchasing Aboriginal art, you do not want Aboriginal-made products produced by non-Aboriginal people, or even made in another country (Parliament of Australia, 2007). In an art industry where disreputable practices go on behind-the-scenes the government is unable to monitor practices, the art market must use other means to show that their pieces and practices are legitimate: they need to position themselves as reputable. Previously, I have discussed the consumers' potential interest in making socially responsible purchases; this section argues the producers' side of the transaction and their own production of social responsibility. However, the company's proof of reputation by associating themselves with trade organizations does not have concrete meaning for the majority of potential tourists. This lack of knowledge of trade organizations emphasizes how semiotic and discursive markings come to have meaning on their own accord, just in being present on a label. In addition, the production of reputable labor practices are emphasized through notions of relationships created with Aboriginal artists. I argue this through examples of labels, photos and logos attached to tourist arts.

In this section, I analyze the labeling of two different pillow cushion souvenirs to demonstrate how companies respond to concerns of author, ownership of story and Aboriginality to highlight their own legitimate practices. The example of one of the pillow cushions is semiotically and discursively marked to a maximum degree. The labeling not only works to provide proof of authorship and Aboriginal-ness, even though it is created elsewhere, but it also uses other strategies that I have already discussed: Dreaming and ethical treatment. The second cushion is marked completely opposite of the first: with total simplicity. This comparison demonstrates that semiotic and discursive strategies may have similar end goals, but the practices

vary incredibly. Previously, the details within narratives of Dreamtime added to the “authenticity” and believability of the story. Here, the more detail works quite differently.

In Figures 5-8 and 5-9 three portions of the tags on one pillow are shown. On the tag labeled 5-8, the potential consumer learns that this is an “Art Trade * Fair Trade Cross Cultural Project[],” which is said to mean that the projects bridge “the economic, creative and cultural gap between Australian Indigenous & Global Communities through the Arts.” There is an image of four women seated and holding a variety of colorful artistic objects. Three of the women have a direct gaze into the camera, and two of them appear to be smiling. The fourth woman is looking at the camera with her head slightly turned, and is straight faced. Under the photo, the word “provenance” is followed with one person’s name “Donna Hayes, Keringke Arts.” At the bottom of this label, the company provides a statement of respect in that the image of the artists is



Figure 5-8 Art Trade * Fair Trade



Figure 5-9 Icons of “fairness”

“sensitively produced with their permission.” The viewer can assume that one of the women depicted in the photo is Donna, but there are no other markings. As three of the women look directly at the viewer, their “eyelines connect the participants with the viewer” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 117). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) explain, “Contact is established, even if it is only on an imaginary level” (p. 117). Whether tourists come in contact with Aboriginal people or not, the photo enables the consumer to have the perception of imaginary contact.

The “proof” of Aboriginal authorship is emphasized by the image. Photographs “have virtually unlimited authority” as it has unique qualities in being more than a copy, it is a material representation produced from light (Sontag, 1999, pp. 80–1). The photograph of the group of women on the label proves both the existence of the artist(s), and their dark skin signifies the potential Aboriginal identities. The artifacts they are holding also signify their role as artist. Sontag (1999) states that photographs are magical as it is “not only like its subject, a homage to the subject. It is part of, an extension of that subject; and a potent means of acquiring it, of gaining control over it” (p. 81). The image becomes a form of information “dissociated from and independent of experience” (Sontag, 1999, p. 81). When tourists want to purchase Aboriginal tourist arts as a memento of their trip whether or not they come in contact with Aboriginal people (Errington, 2010; Franklin, 2010), the image comes to represent Aboriginality as the essence of Australia, where the tourist is able to gaze at the ethnic “Other” on their own terms. The consumer of this product can obtain a material symbol of Aboriginal culture, as well as the image of the artist, but both are disassociated from the art practice and the interaction with the “Other.” Both the material object and the photo of the artist come to signify Australia and the consumer’s visit. The tourist can return home with their souvenir and the image to use to share their stories of travel, and therefore have acquired Aboriginality as a part of their journey. As

Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) suggest, “at one extreme is obsessive voyeurism, a perversion, but at the more normal end is tourism, an engagement with the exotic Other, utilizing photography as the medium for fixing the sexualized images” (p. 455). The photograph of the non-Western body “draws a look” in that their “difference or foreignness defines them as noteworthy yet distant” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 188). The image provides the perception of proof of authorship and Aboriginality, while simultaneously associating the product with an “exotic” culture.

The company who is selling the pillow creates many links with ethical associations and organizations in order to align their company and product with Aboriginal unity and rights, and give the impression of highly monitored labor practices. However, for the average tourist, there is no reference of what the emblems really mean, so they become meaningful strictly in their presentation and context. The tags on this cushion also provide proof of authorship, “authenticity” and Aboriginality through the multiple logos depicted. In Figure 5-9, the left side portrays what appear to be four different logos. The top one, “OzAboriginal™,” relates to the name of the store “Oz at the Rocks.” The background image of the OzAboriginal logo is representative of the Australian Aboriginal flag. According to the National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee (NAIDOC) the Aboriginal flag “has become a widely recognised symbol of the unity and identity of Aboriginal people” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2015). The top half is black and represents the Aboriginal people of Australia, the bottom half is red and represents the “red earth, the red ochre used in ceremonies and Aboriginal peoples’ spiritual relation to the land,” and the yellow circle in the center is the sun (Commonwealth of Australia, 2015). OzAboriginal’s logo is presenting their identity as “unified” with the Aboriginal people. The second logo states “ART.TRADE FAIR.TRADE” with a black

background, a red image above the words with small circles that look to be hand drawn. In smaller font, the tag line says “Australian Indigenous Art Trade Association,” and according to their website, they are now called the “Aboriginal Art Association of Australia (AAAA)” (Aboriginal Art Association of Australia, 2015). The AAAA is a national organization working to “promote the ethical trade of Australian Aboriginal Art” and uphold the Aboriginal culture (Aboriginal Art Association of Australia, 2015). The third logo from the top is the mark for the Indigenous Art Code (The Code), discussed previously, where membership is voluntary, and the participants work towards standardizing and protecting Aboriginal art dealings. Finally, there is a logo for “Craftmark.” Craftmark is a trademarked icon, and identifies and markets Australian craft practitioners’ goods (ipaustralia.gov.au, accessed May 4, 2016). Crafts people need to apply to use this trademark, and are granted accreditation on a two-year basis after they meet a selection criteria and a review (<https://www.ipaustralia.gov.au/tools-resources/certification-rules/746821>, accessed May 4, 2016). The information linked to these four logos and branding creates a strong message of “authenticity” and ethical business practices with Aboriginal artists for the company. With so many organizations involved in overseeing this product, the consumer gets the impression that this producer has gone through levels of monitoring by these organizations to ensure ethical treatment of Aboriginal artists, and legitimacy that it is made by Aboriginal artists. Ironically, most consumers visiting Australia will not be familiar with these organizations or associations, nor will they likely do the research to learn about them, and the tags only provide the logos. Therefore, it is literally the producers’ use of the semiotic emblems that produce the *notion* of “truth” in ethical production.

The right tag in Figure 5-9 is the front cover of a folded card stock, and provides just about every catch phrase that denotes an “authentic” Aboriginal product that can be associated

with the business OzAboriginal, including licensure, royalties, and the phrase “Ethical Fair Trade.” When opening the folded label, there is a story of Keringke Arts, where they are located, the population of the mission, the English translation for the Arrernte word (“kangaroo tracks”), and the Dreamtime story of the kangaroo. This section is done in a narrative format. The business information on the right is completed with the visual of the four icons on the left. The icons alone are eye-catching with the yellow card stock, and each of these brands’ logos also becomes the colors of the Aboriginal flag. In combining these logos, colors and statements, the producers of this product are identifying themselves as a legitimate business that are united with Aboriginal artists, and holding a high standard of criteria for the products they sell.

The right side of the inner leaflet has a “disclaimer” regarding any discrepancies between pieces due to size, color or texture, which also makes a statement about the mass-production of these products. If they are not uniform or replicas of each other, then there is proof that this piece

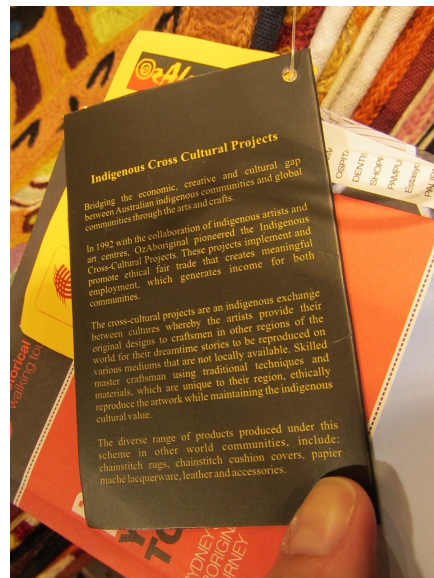


Figure 5-10 Indigenous Cross Cultural Projects

is hand crafted. If there was any question to the “authenticity” or the individually produced presentation of the product before now, this area should confirm a “uniqueness” of each piece, and denies any ideas of advanced technologies stamping out products. The buyer can rest assured that this cushion has been handmade.

Finally, the back portion of this leaflet informs the potential buyer why this is considered an Art Trade and Fair Trade product (see Figure 5-10). In this section, we learn that OzAboriginal Company started these “cross-cultural” projects in 1992, which benefits indigenous artists through “meaningful employments.” The Australian Aboriginal artists provide their designs depicting Dreamtime stories to crafts people in other areas of the world. The crafts people reproduce the Dreamtime stories on “various mediums that are not locally available.” The crafts, such as “chainstitch” rugs or cushion covers and leatherwork are said to be “unique to their region.” This information references back to a line in Figure 5-9, which stated “Think local Act global.” The only artists mentioned here are Australian Aboriginal artists, but only one name is given. As Franklin (2010) explains, “Everyday objects reflect not only personal tastes and attributes but also the moral principles and social ideals of the people who buy the objects and those who produce them” (p. 205). There is clearly a presentation of “fair trade” or royalties being provided for Australian artists and we can see that OzAboriginal “thinks local” with recognizing the Australian Aboriginal stories and artists designs as worthy of this “partnership.” OzAboriginal is declaring to their potential customers that this purchase is an ethical one.

Before I move on to analyze the other cushion, I want to emphasize that even though this cushion has been excessively marked to present the company’s reputable practices and relationships with Aboriginal people, OzAboriginal erases the “partnership” with “other world communities.” This creates two issues: it accentuates and perpetuates the original issues of

authorship; and, it creates a hierarchy of respect of fair practices with indigenous people, when only Australian Aboriginal people get credit. In this production of tourist arts, the company emphasizes their “fair trade” practices, and de-emphasizes the actual authorship of the production of the cushion. OzAboriginal demonstrates their “acting global” through the production of the Australian designs in “other world communities.” Yet in the labeling on this particular product, there is no sign of where the other community is or who those artists may be. With this, I return to the questions of “authenticity” and “authorship.” Those concerned with Aboriginal art market practices have questioned those moments when the artist creating the work does not “own” or have permission to depict a particular Dreamtime story. What happens in this situation where a Dreamtime design is sent (presumably) outside of Australia for another community to practice the markings and motifs of those stories passed down through families and generations? As I’ve discussed in the art industry critiques in the “Behind-the-Scenes Complexities” section, the artist in the other community using Aboriginal Dreamtime stories in their product is really no different than art done by relatives or in collaboration, yet only one artist has signed the piece; the Australian art industry has argued this to be “inauthentic” (Alder et al., 2011; Myers, 2004). In fact, we never learn where the people are from who are using the designs to create the product. The business has decorated itself with semiotic proof of its ethical practices, and the Australian artist is mentioned without specifics of their “fair trade” partner. In relation to the lack of acknowledgement of the other indigenous partners, the company has shown to value the “proof” of reputable practices and relationships with Australian Aboriginal artists, but does not demonstrate those same values to other indigenous groups. I suggest this creates a hierarchy of respect of fair practices with indigenous people, when only Australian Aboriginal people get credit. In considering that this cushion is sold in Australia and emphasizes

Australian Aboriginal people’s tourism arts, the company highlights the “Australian Aboriginal made” as the most important point in marketing this cushion.

In the second example of the pillow souvenir, I compare the previous company’s high production of ethical trade and “authentic” product to one that demonstrates nearly the opposite extreme: one of understatement. In the tourism industry where symbols of luxury, value or even in this case, “fair trade” can become so overused, being inundated with symbols can almost reverse the perception that this is something of value or “authentic.” Sometimes less really can appear to be more.



Figure 5- 11 Cross Cultural Projects



Figure 5- 12 Cross Cultural Info

Figures 5-11 and 5-12 are the same types of cushion as the previous analysis (Figures 5-8 through 5-10). On these cushions, there was only one simple tag. On one side (Figure 5-11) is a business card for Cross Cultural Projects with their contact information, including an email for “Carolyn” and the company website. We are simply told that this is a place of “fine art-fine craft-ethical trade” with a symbol of a handprint that is a common connotation for handmade articles.

Knowing “Carolyn” is the contact at this Art Centre appears to be the equivalent of the signature of an art representative and offers a personal touch. On the flip side of the tag (Figure 5-12) we are reminded of a standard gallery certificate of provenance, with an artist’s name and a photograph. Like the previous example, the photo is of a dark skinned woman that signifies her role as the Aboriginal artist. She also has a direct gaze with the viewer, but the image is closer to the artist’s face which signifies the viewers’ interpersonal or intimate connection with the participant (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, pp. 125–6). The artist’s country is also mentioned, and also the country of the artisans where the cross-cultural projects exchange occurred. In comparison, the labeling and production of “authenticity” for this cushion is on the other end of the spectrum of information from the multi-tagged product previously discussed. The simple-ness of this company using a business card for a souvenir product tag seems “home-made” and quaint compared to the massive production of a multi-page booklet. The production is also personalized when we know “Carolyn,” and the individual close up of the artist also implies a relationship with the viewer. Even though the previous cushion used logos of Australian and Indigenous organizations, the producer’s emphasis is very commercial through the multiple tags and overwhelming performance of production. The Cross Cultural Projects’ product is simple, and gives the consumer the impression that it is a small operation, and there is a much more intimate relationship between Carolyn and the artist, Margaret. With fewer businesses and organizations involved in the process, one could imagine that there are fewer people to share the profits. In an industry that is massive, and the selection of tourism products is overwhelming, the company’s presentation of small and personal emphasizes hand-crafts and cultural integrity over mass-produced and commercial. The company manufactures “authenticity” by emphasizing individuals (the art associate and the artist) rather than a corporation.

Before I move on to my final section of analysis, I point to one other significant question of authorship as it pertains to the “fair trade” practices of sending Dreamtime designs to an artist outside of the Aboriginal cultural group for production. The Art Centre coordinator, Amelia stated:

...the author would get the royalties but there are also cultural questions as to whether printing these cultural designs makes it lose the cultural meaning (conversation with Amelia, July 4, 2013).

This is an intriguing point to consider the presentation of Aboriginal art being connected to “Dreamtime” and cultural practices, and ownership of the stories are passed down through generations through strict laws. Yet, in these situations the souvenir industry is mass-producing the story, which questions whether the act of reproduction may dilute the meaningfulness of an Aboriginal Dreaming. This is particularly problematic when the presentation of “authenticity” is a significant discourse around these products. However, when the spiritual and cultural practices of the Dreaming are decontextualized for the souvenir market, the tourist arts and souvenirs become a cultural product in their own right, meaning it has become a newly formed cultural product. As Geertz (1986) explains, “it is the copying that originates” (p. 380). The Dreaming and its associated cultural practices are removed from this pillow cushion, which has now become meaningful as the souvenir object representing Australia. In other words, what “originates” are the meanings attached to this new cultural product in the context of tourism, of a souvenir shop with twenty other cushions, and of the house that the object ends up. We are reminded in Jules-Rosette’s (1984) study of African tourist arts that “the painting is initially purchased as a souvenir not only of the place but of the art form that it represents” (p. 209). The tourist art signifies the Aboriginal artist and the styles and forms they are known for (Jules-Rosette, 1984). The souvenir is recognized as not being an original, but is a metonym for the

artists and the art style. This abstraction and symbolization of the original emphasizes that the tourist object is just that: a product that is produced to fulfill the tourism imaginary. The loss of meaningfulness of the originating Dreaming story is irrelevant when we can recognize that the production of tourism arts “authenticity” is only manufactured through its semiotic and discursive markings.

Symbolizing “High-Culture” & “Uniqueness” through Reproduction and Metonym

To the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of ‘class’. The manner in which culture has been acquired lives on in the manner of using it... (Bourdieu, 2006a, p. 323).

In this final section of analysis, I am less interested in the production of an “authentic” product, but I take “authenticity” as a starting point and focus on how companies use the semiotics and discourses of “authenticity” to accrue cultural capital through the reproduction of art and associating it with “high” culture. Just as consumers can associate purchases of “taste” with social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 2006a), producers also benefit from creating products that are equated with quality and discernment. I have explained elsewhere how Aboriginal art has obtained fine art status in many circumstances, the “paintings have status as commodities,” are sold at high prices, and dealers want a piece of the profits (Myers, 2002, p. 208). Myers (2002) outlines how:

Australia’s Bicentennial in 1988 provided both the resources and occasion for renewed cultural production around issues of national identity as Australians were faced with the necessity of staging themselves in public, not only for themselves but also for the large tourist audience expected to visit (p. 202).

The event positioned “Aboriginal culture and art on a new scale,” where Aboriginal art and culture became part of the national identity, but the primitive Aboriginal and nostalgia for the

pre-modern Australia were still highlighted (Myers, 2002, p. 208). Australia's participation in a "modernist internationalism served mainly to validate the significance of art and culture" and Australia highlighted its own national identity, as it "discovered that there were masterpieces of civilization at home, allowing Australians to develop their potential without borrowing from others and even to contribute to the whole, thanks to 'our Aborigines'" (Myers, 2002, p. 204). This explanation emphasizes the appropriation of Aboriginal art and culture to create a distinct Australian identity. Both in a national identity and in the tourism industry, Aboriginal art and culture has served to differentiate Australia from other global locations. In this section, I argue that the cultural producers' appropriation of Aboriginal "masterpieces" signify their own status when they create a brand for a national or international tourism audience, where the business positions itself as uniquely Australian. This is ironic in a country where Aboriginal people are often forgotten (Healy, 2008), yet select Aboriginal art and culture is upheld as "Australia's own."

The context of Aboriginal art legitimates its value, and when Aboriginal art is moved away from the "tourist art" category in the "art-culture-system," it has the potential of being perceived differently and changes in value (Clifford, 1988, p. 223). I return to Peacock's (1984) statement from the beginning of this chapter, where tourist art is considered "bad" culture that is commercialized and destroys traditional arts and crafts (p. vii). When the "masterpieces" discussed above are reproduced, they theoretically become the same commercialized culture that Peacock (1984) critiques. However, in this section, I argue that when reproductions of Australian Aboriginal art are placed on a product that is associated with "high" culture, it maintains cultural value, and confers cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) for both the producer of the product and the consumer. This occurs in two ways: through the production of a partnership with the Aboriginal

artists; and, when Aboriginal art is used metaphorically to position Happs winery as “belonging” to the nation of Australia.

In tourism, the market may select their intended consumer, but the consumers “have every reason to feel that it is they—perhaps even they alone—who are in command” (Z. Bauman, 1998, p. 84). The consumers with economic means have the privilege to be mobile, to have more consumer choices, and therefore the ability to create the lifestyle of their choosing (Z. Bauman, 1998). In tourism, consumers who have socio-economic means can have anxieties pertaining to class standards and maintaining a particular lifestyle and identity. These tourists would not be associated with cheap souvenir trinkets and mere reproductions. In considering how tourists align themselves as global travelers and class, I look to “elitism.” Elitism can be defined as:

... a person’s orientation or making a claim to exclusivity, superiority, and/or distinctiveness on the grounds of status, knowledge, authenticity, taste... or any other form of standing in relation to another subject (individual or group) (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009, p. 196).

Jaworski and Thurlow’s (2009) definition is significant in that it emphasizes that elitism is performative and is concerned with “individual subjectivities, passing acts of identity, and processes of self- and other-attribution by which people may appeal to the notion or ‘ideal’ of, for example, exclusivity, superiority, or distinction” (p. 196). Therefore, tourists with the economic means have the opportunity to make choices in order to orient themselves to forms of distinction. Morgan and Pritchard (1998) explain that brand-imaging links a “product” “symbolically to a wider world of social values,” and the “consumer who is the target of the advertiser is induced to adopt the socio-cultural identity attributed” to the object of desire (p. 27). For the producer and the consumer, there is a constitutive production of the value of a product.

For this example, I analyze how Happs winery “I Series” uses a “unique” Aboriginal painting to symbolize each individual and unique vintage of grape. In this case, miniature copies of Aboriginal fine art are presented as elevated from mere tourist art when it is equated with the bourgeoisie “finer” culture of wine tasting. While the actual Aboriginal acrylic paintings hung on the wall of the winery tasting room, the miniature replica can go home with the consumer along with a quality bottle of wine.

When travel itself is expressed through narratives after returning home, the souvenir is the marker of that experience. Chaney (1996) discusses “symbolic forms of status (that is lifestyles)” exemplify how:

...social actors understand themselves as entities that are both part of new types of networks of ‘we’ and ‘us’, necessarily differentiated from ‘they’ and ‘them’, and as individual entities that simultaneously have a separate and unique existence (p. 119).

Again, we are reminded that difference is what sets us apart, and status is formed through an emphasis of difference. Here difference is equated in two ways: through the incorporation of the “exotic Other’s” culture on the Western cultural class marker of wine; and, through the creation of a tourism product that is set apart from other tourism trinkets. The Happs’ bottle of wine with the miniature Aboriginal art painting provides the basis of narrative about a combination of the “finer” things in life: art and wine. The object itself is symbolic of “high culture” and class, and stands as the marker that this tourist experience was not your standard tourist stop with cheap trinkets and kitsch. The narrative that will be told when the consumer brings it home attaches the object “to its origins and creates a myth with regard to those origins” (Stewart, 1984, p. 136). More importantly, is that the production and circulation of this wine bottle also provides symbolic forms of status for Happs, both for the winery and the winemaker. Happs is positioning

itself and its branding to link “symbolically to a wider world of social values” (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 27), and manipulating the type of consumer it wishes to reach.

Happs winery, in Western Australia, has named one of their lines of wine the “I Series,” which stands for “The Indigenous range.” The series includes a different Aboriginal design on each grape varietal. There were four different wines in this “I Series”: Pinot Noir, a dry white blend, a Chenin blanc, and a dry red blend.⁵⁷ Grace Napangardi Butcher created the artwork for three of the bottles of wine, and Anna Petayarre painted the Pinot Noir bottle design. The label states:

We have four wines that carry aboriginal art on their labels. They all emphasise the native character of the grape as it appears in our particular part of the world. The character of the wine depends upon the weather, no two years the same. The artwork on the label changes with the vintage.

As the wine label states that the Aboriginal design changes with the vintage, it also emphasizes that the grape is never the same from year to year. The “uniqueness” of the evolving grapes is



Figure 5-13 Happs' I Series



Figure 5-14 Fingerprints

⁵⁷ According to Happs.com.au (2016), the range of wines has now expanded.

equated with the “unique” art label (See Figure 5-13). The image is used as a metaphor to represent the grapes and the wine. At the bottom of three of the four labels are two images that appear to be fingerprints, one with the artist’s name under it and the other with the winemaker’s name (Figure 5-14). As we know that two fingerprints are never the same, these depictions of the fingerprints further connote the uniqueness of the wine.

Benjamin (1936) describes the uniqueness and “authenticity” in art as related to ritual and its “aura.” The reproduction of an art object eliminates its “aura,” removing its historical testimony and “substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence” (Benjamin, 1936, p. 37). In this case, the miniaturization and reprinting of the art work on the wine labels is a reproduction of the larger painting, removed of part of its original essence (the aura), yet stands as an object that has a new point of beginning from which to build its own historical testimony. These miniature paintings evolve as a creative product form, one that is mobile unlike the original, which creates possibilities for new significance in this other context. Benjamin (1936) explains, “the unique value of the ‘authentic’ work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value” (p. 38). For Benjamin, the “mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual” (Benjamin, 1936, p. 39). In the context of Aboriginal art and its reproduction on wine labels, the rituals and ceremony of the Dreamings are still emphasized even in the copies. Aboriginal artists’ Dreaming has been passed through generations and is unique to them and their own country. The celebration of the artwork on each of the labels is based on the Dreaming stories associated with each of the Aboriginal designs. In this way, the “aura” has not entirely separated from the mechanical reproduction as its presence is grounded on ritual. Yes, it is a reproduction, but the Aboriginal design’s significance is still based on its meaningfulness in Aboriginal culture. As a printed wine label, the art and the

fingerprint have come to symbolize uniqueness, and also Aboriginality. The reproductions combined with the wine have become a new cultural product: one that induces elitism for the producer and the consumer.

At the same time, the image of the two fingerprints together resembles an official document such as a birth certificate or even a marriage license. The two different images and their related names are reminiscent of a partnership or perhaps an agreement. There is a sense of equality with both prints being about the same size, same positioning and same labeling. Here the winemaker and artist are presented in equal parts. The wine label is presenting this collaboration as an equal partnership. This partnership is reminiscent of previous discussions of fair and ethical treatment of artists. While there are no markings on these bottles that state payment or royalties to the artists, this semiotic production of equality in the fingerprints implies that this is an official business transaction between winemaker and artist. This type of equal representation may offer the winery status in its implied ethical relationship with the Aboriginal artists.

Along with these representations of distinctiveness, the label's depiction of Aboriginal art designs on this wine product signifies a connection with land, and even Australian-ness. On the Pinot Noir, the label states:

Wine and art equally reflect their place of origin.

The next block of text describes the origins of the Pinot Noir, and following this is a statement about the artist, her country, and the land that her painting depicts. The Aboriginal art is this artist's unique Dreaming story, as Aboriginal people have "ownership" of their spiritual or creation story that is distinctively associated with the land under their care. Interestingly, on the very bottom of the label for the Pinot Noir only, the winery states:

Utopia, Ophir, Indigenous Art, Pinot Noir.
High Culture from Australia.

The artist, Anna Petayarre lives at Utopia. Ophir is what the winery calls the hilltop in Karridale where the Pinot Noir grapes grow. These places are then associated with Indigenous art and the Happs' wine ("Pinot Noir"). The winery then explicitly defines this combination for its buyers: High Culture from Australia! This last statement is significant in that it discursively defines the status of the product, and the winery positions itself as the legitimizing voice that attaches value. The winery also marks this product as directed towards people who are from elsewhere; by stating the product is "from Australia" implies that this is a tourism object that will move to another place. This product is for those travelers who respond to the codes of taste and high culture. The international reach of the wine product offers Happs winery global status.

Before I move to discuss how the partnership with Aboriginal artists metaphorically positions Happs as "belonging" in Australia, I would like to point to an unfortunate irony that emphasizes "difference" for those who purchase this special "I Series." The tourists will come to the winery for wine tasting; they purchase these artistic bottles with symbols of Aboriginality to take back home. They will return home and use the bottle and the wine as a symbolic object that defines their journey and prompts their stories. The story that is forgotten here is the fact that Aboriginal alcoholism is a serious problem in many Aboriginal communities. While "we" can enjoy the alcohol and the art, "we" do not want to be reminded of those differences that differentiate the people who in many ways have been left behind in modern Australian society. In this instance, we can imagine Aboriginal artists circulating in the "high" culture world. This bottle of Happs wine with the beautiful Aboriginal painting is only meant for a discrete customer who is separated from (or can ignore) the politics of Aboriginal Australia.

The second way that the markings on the label create an association with land is also through the art and the grape combination. However, in this second way, the winery's accrual of cultural capital is through the productions of the winery's association to land (or country). The winery's marriage of the image of the Dreaming, along with the winery's own products is not only depicting a relationship between the winery and the Aboriginal artists, but the winery and its relationship to that place in Australia. The artist of the work is named on the bottle and a brief description of the Dreamtime story portrayed is explained. At the same time, there is a play on words where the description on the label states the "native" character of the grape. In this instance, the winery has created a metaphor where the Aboriginal people are "of" the land as depicted through the visual presentation of their Dreaming, as the grape is also "of" the land with characteristics comprised from the "native" soil. This can be read in a couple of ways: one that positions the winery and the artist as sharing ownership and an appreciation for the land as Australians; or one that recognizes Aboriginal people as the original inhabitants and places the grape as part of this country. In the first instance, we are reminded of colonization, Aboriginal loss of land, and a non-Aboriginal stance of also belonging. The placement of the Aboriginal art in conjunction to the statement of the "native" character of the grape makes a statement of two cultures living harmoniously side-by-side. The Aboriginal artist has painted their country, and the winery and winemaker has tended their country with viticulture. Just as Aboriginal paintings of Dreamings are a political stance that can provide proof of Native Title (Anker, 2005; Lane & Waitt, 2001), the winery and the winemaker belong on this land and their proof of title is in the product of wine.

In the second instance, a less critical stance, removes the winemaker and winery from the picture, and positions the Aboriginal people and their culture as sharing "native" identity with

nature (the grape). The Aboriginal art and Dreaming story is upheld in a prominent position on the wine bottle. In this instance, the “I Series” could be seen as a personal (or business) account of reconciliation. Both Aboriginal artist and winemaker are “creating” in relation to the land of Australia. Once again, the producer’s ethical treatment and respect are highlighted.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have argued that “authenticity” is a problematic concept, particularly as it pertains to Aboriginal designs and art in tourism. I have focused on tourist arts, but have demonstrated that “authenticity” is semiotically and discursively produced to follow the concerns and issues surrounding the Aboriginal fine art industry. I have emphasized that the broad range of participants in the art industry have not agreed upon or identified fixed definitions of the categories of art. With the lack of consensus among art professionals, symbols of communication and art objects become powerful markers in generating the perception that there is an “authentic” to be found. Those who have *authority* to “authenticate” are in a powerful position (Appadurai, 1986) to play a role in situating tourist art producers as reputable, ethical, exhibiting (and providing) cultural capital. They do this through appropriating art industry practices that typically pertain to the fine art market.

Through the performance of perceived “authenticity,” producers and intermediaries of tourist arts emphasize Aboriginality and an exotic “Other” through Dreamtime stories, discourses of “tradition,” and connection to land. The marketing descriptions of art designs and motifs give the impression of cross-cultural understanding for non-Aboriginal people to feel that the works they are purchasing are more “authentic,” even when they are clearly mass-produced products.

The marking of tourist arts as “authentic” enables non-Aboriginal people to believe they can understand a piece of Aboriginal culture, even without interacting with Aboriginal people.

The tourist art producers and intermediaries present “Authenticity” by responding to concerns of critics and government of the ethical and fair treatment of Aboriginal artists. In mimicking gallery practices, souvenir labels promised compensation to Aboriginal artists and their communities. Aboriginal Art Centres also demonstrated their own governance and support for their community. The Aboriginal-owned Art Centres show Aboriginal people’s capability of providing a space for their communities to play a role and have a voice in the dominant tourism economy, and managing the commercial production of their arts.

In the final section, I have demonstrated that reproduction doesn’t necessarily remove “uniqueness.” When Aboriginal fine art is reproduced and partnered with high-culture practices, such as wine tasting, the final product is one that stands as an object of bourgeoisie lifestyle. The winery brands their products with Aboriginal art to associate themselves with elitism and to emphasize differences. In this instance, the winery produces “authenticity” through narratives of partnerships with Aboriginal artists, connection to the land and “native-ness” as a sense of belonging. The winery associates the product with a different type of “traditional” culture than mentioned elsewhere, where creativity (of art or wine) is connected to relationships with the land.

Each of these semiotic productions of “authenticity” have been negotiated based on the goals and functions of each producer of the arts. Items that were not produced in Australia made statements of “fair pay” for Aboriginal artists or highlighted the “exotic” culture through Aboriginal Dreaming stories. Those pieces that were made in collaboration with Indigenous people outside of Australia emphasized their “handmade” qualities through discourses pointing

out minor differences between each product. Aboriginal Cultural Centres emphasize their ownership structure and relationship with their community to highlight a “true” Aboriginal product with ethical values. Each of these types of statements provide the producer the cultural capital of reputation and legitimacy, and designate their product as “authentic.” These semiotic and discursive productions also respond to the consumer’s “anxieties” when these types of markers are not present (Culler, 1981, p. 137); the anxieties include: the commercial destruction of cultural integrity; fair pay and self-determination; reputable practices; and, class structures. “Authenticity” for tourist arts is only defined through negation and differences. In an industry that is concerned with mass-production and loss of cultural integrity, souvenir producers semiotically and discursively highlight how their product may be different. Often, these productions of authenticity are only meaningful because of the context in which they are created: as labels to identify (and discriminate) one object in a sea of replicas.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

My project has focused on learning whether non-dominant voices can navigate into the larger tourism industry to counter dominant representations. Tourism Australia is the dominant tourism authority, which has a wide-reach in both its marketing and the way that it maintains a coherent brand by managing Australia's tourism image, including through its affiliates. This is only one sector of the tourism industry, and there are many other participants working to (re)present identity through Aboriginal culture, such as local guides, producers of tourist goods, vendors and other intermediaries. The variety of businesses and roles that local people perform in tourism also illustrates inequalities in participation, exposure to outsiders, and even economic and marketing access. In addition, the messages that each one creates are based on their own stakes. Therefore, while Tourism Australia (re)presents the largest force, there are competing host narratives that uphold, reformulate or even contradict these dominant messages.

I have approached this project with my interest in examining how these competing hosts use Aboriginal art to mediate identity in tourism. I quickly realized that it was really a broader notion of Aboriginal culture that was being appropriated, which stems from Aboriginal spiritual beliefs and practices. The dominant representations circulating on Tourism Australia's websites reproduce stereotypical images of the "noble savage" and the "ethnographic present" (Bruner, 2005). Aboriginal people are commonly depicted in minimal clothing with their bodies painted, and narratives that marked Aboriginal people as living the "traditional" lifestyle, and a "hunter-gatherer" way of life accommodate these images. These discourses represent the "imperialist nostalgia" where the cultures are romanticized and mourned for what they were at first contact (Rosaldo, 1989). Healy (2008) also points to the tourism industries' stereotypical commodification of "authenticity and primitivism," and the persistent presentations of "the

melancholy wish for the imminent disappearance of real Aborigines” (2008, p. 179; see also Waitt, 1999). Healy (2008) explains:

Many of the examples I’ve offered here are, perhaps, more representative of an older mould of marketing Aboriginal cultural tourism. Certainly, the material coming out of Tourism Australia has changed substantially over the last three years (p. 179).

Unfortunately, my study has shown that these primitive representations continue to perpetuate the notions of Aboriginal people as frozen in the past and as the “disappearing Aboriginal people.”

During my fieldwork in Australia, the local guides demonstrated the difficult roles they negotiate in order to participate in the tourism industry. First, the tourism imaginaries (Salazar, 2012; Salazar & Graburn, 2014) play an important role throughout the tourism industry. The tourism imaginaries are created and circulated for tourists long before they arrive at their destination, and produce the desires and markers for tourists to seek out. Tourism marketing and businesses need to respond to this imaginary to successfully fulfill those desires, and manage a successful business. For Aboriginal people and those presenting Aboriginal culture for tourists, this means that guides need to understand what these representations are and envision what the tourists expect (Bunten, 2008). For indigenous guides, it is challenging to perform to the stereotypes about their identity and culture while also maintaining self-worth and being true to their own beliefs (Bunten, 2008, 2010). The guides in Australia negotiate between offering some of the dominant representations for tourists, but also incorporate strategies of resistance.

In Chapter 3, I compare Tourism Australia’s appropriation and commodification of the Dreamtime to the local guides narratives about Aboriginal spirituality and beliefs. The discourses across the tourism websites assert that tourists can have complete access to Aboriginal culture and even “try on” indigenous identity as a means of experiencing Aboriginal spirituality and

traditions. The marked Aboriginal and unmarked Australian categories illustrate the significant differences in how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are represented in tourism. Tourists are told they can experience the most personal and spiritual practices of the marked “Aboriginal” Australian, where the unmarked Australian is recognized for their good personality and friendliness. I demonstrate that guides also incorporate stories about the Aboriginal spirituality and beliefs, but foreground Aboriginal words as a means of “correcting” the dominant narrative, which also (re-)establishes the Aboriginal language over the English terms. Guides’ narratives about cultural objects are used to tell about Aboriginal people’s gender roles, while simultaneously demanding respect from tourists and the tourism industry.

The tourism spaces of encounter are my focus for Chapter 4, where I draw on the tourist *borderzone* (Bruner, 2005), and “sharing culture” (Tonnaer, 2010) to emphasize power hierarchies and gatekeeping in the Australian tourism industry. My project differs from Bruner (2005) and Tonnaer (2010) in that I solely focus on the hosts to interrogate the centers of power and understand the “bridges” and “barriers” that Aboriginal people navigate in order to play a role in the tourism industry. I argue that the intercultural relationships between tourism intermediaries are influential to produce Aboriginal cultural tourism “products.” I use WAITOC’s key principles to frame my argument, where Connectivity to Country, Welcome to Country, and Corroboree enable me to expose the complicated networks that still incorporate elements of history and colonization.

In Chapter 5, the competing host discourses revolve around artists, souvenir producers, vendors, and other intermediaries within the tourist art and souvenir market. I demonstrate that the various participants in the Aboriginal fine art market debate terms of “authenticity” based on a variety of characteristics, such as “tradition,” cultural practices, types of materials and

mediums, and authorship. In actuality, “authenticity” and value is semiotically and discursively produced through signs of difference (Clifford, 1988). While the main debates are focused on Aboriginal “fine” art, I argue that tourist arts and souvenir producers go to great lengths to respond to the concerns related to “authenticity.” I show: Dreaming stories and narratives that foreground “tradition” highlight the object as from the “Other”; ethical treatment of artists is presented through discourses of labor and Aboriginal ownership; and, uniqueness is associated with “high culture” and metaphors of distinction. Aboriginal tourist arts are symbols in their own right (Jules-Rosette, 1984), and those who have the authority to “authenticate” yield an incredible amount of power (Appadurai, 1986, pp. 44–45; in Hoelscher, 1998, p. 372). In the case of Aboriginal tourist arts and souvenirs, the producers advance their cultural capital of reputation and legitimacy when they mark their products with symbols of “authenticity” as it is related to value and ethics.

In many ways this project has fallen in line with other scholars who have been interested in how cultural objects and arts can be powerful tools in mediating identity in tourism (cf. Adams, 2006; Causey, 2003; Little, 2004; Rosi, 1991). These types of studies commonly come from anthropology, and I have approached this study of discourses of identity through a communication lens. It is my goal that this project furthers the conversations of intercultural representation and knowledge, particularly as it pertains to communication. The dialectical places of tourism create an environment of ebb and flow; each of the participants in the tourism situation(s) are contributing to the messages and performances that are produced, just as each are able to negotiate their own significance from the interaction(s).

At the same time this project has led me to more questions than answers. When dominant tourism representations are continuing to perpetuate the same stereotypical portrayals they have

been putting forth for decades, how does it change? In a postcolonial environment, how do indigenous people change their circumstances of being reliant on participating in a tourism industry where some have been pressured to play a role in the tourism economy? As Stronza (2001) explains:

...tourism can lead to a kind of ‘cultural dependency’ in which local people gain economic benefits, but only as they are catering to the needs of outsiders. Loss of identity occurs in this scenario as the local economy improves and hosts begin to act and think like tourists,... (p. 270).

Of course, there are always counter conversations of economic independence (cf. Bennett & Gordon, 2005; Galliford, 2009; Stronza, 2001), the ability to proudly perform and preserve Aboriginal culture (Bunten, 2014), and, the opportunity to counter or resist dominant narratives as I have shown here. Future research focusing on “hosts” in other tourism destinations will be useful in understanding how host cultures choose to participate when there are options.

As an outsider to Australia looking in, the factor that has really been salient for me is how the politics and socio-cultural issues ingrained in Australia trickle through to the representations of the tourism industry.⁵⁸ Perhaps this is the easiest place to position dominant and historical perspectives since tourism can be conceived of as an “innocent” field, as it is looked at as an area of leisure. I turn to a quote by Mudrooroo (1997) to illustrate:

The invented Aboriginal is...given a singular otherness on which is inscribed certain attributes of Aboriginality (Mudrooroo, 1997, p. 265).

Mudrooroo was raised in Australia knowing he was “not white” and therefore, society designated him as Aboriginal. It wasn’t until much later in his life that he realized his own African American heritage. Mudrooroo’s (1997) quote references the racist structure in “mainstream” Australia, which is:

⁵⁸ I have also discussed contradictions between politics and tourism marketing in Hawai’i (Mroczek, 2009). I don’t believe this is unique to Australia or to Hawai’i, but is still something that is significant to foreground.

...seen as one monolithic culture and, through such government bodies as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), the various communities and individuals identifying as ‘Aboriginal’ are constructed in similar monolithic fashion” (p. 265).

Mudrooroo’s (1997) statements focus on the overall construction of inequality through difference. Aboriginal as “Other” is deeply ingrained in Australia’s history, political laws and demonstrations of power, and this binary is also present across the tourism websites. As I have shown in this dissertation, those with the power of “authority” create significant narratives in how we understand ourselves in contrast to “Other.”

I return to an argument I made in Chapter 3 as an example of deeply ingrained belief systems and issues of perpetuating stereotypes in tourism representations. The Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation and the University of New South Wales (1996a, 1996b) have published literature for educators to understand the “appropriate” and respectful ways to discuss Aboriginal people and their cultural practices. If Tourism Australia and its affiliates find that these strategies of respect do not apply to the government tourism authority and its tourism representations, then this vicious circle of representing Aboriginal people as primitive, frozen in time and “nearly gone” will continue to be perpetuated.

I mentioned the Indigenous Tourism Champions Program (ITCP) in Chapter 2 as a collaborative project between Tourism Australia and Indigenous Business Australia. As I briefly overviewed their website which is directed towards other tourism professionals desiring to market Aboriginal cultural tourism, I have noticed some variations between this website and Tourism Australia’s website directed towards tourists. There are both positives and negatives, including improved visual images that depict Aboriginal people in the present day, but remaining narratives that mystify and commodify the Aboriginal spiritual beliefs. It could be useful to do future research comparing in detail the business version versus the tourism version of the

websites. In doing this, one could understand whether significant changes in Aboriginal cultural representations have been made since the ITCP has come into effect. More importantly is research comparing the Aboriginal owners of businesses in ITCP to other Aboriginal business owners' experiences as they participate and self-represent within the tourism industry. If Tourism Australia and Indigenous Business Australia have a place to develop and mentor Indigenous Tourism Businesses, is there a reciprocal exchange where Aboriginal people consult in the dominant practices and processes? Referencing WAITOC's key principles, this could be where a true Corroboree occurs.

The tourism industry is a place of significant inequality in power structures due to economics, politics and socio-cultural standing. When those that are higher on the political ranking with the highest financial backing speak the loudest with globally projected representations, then avenues of counter discourses and resistance need to be found. There are many tourism destinations that heavily (even solely) rely on participating in the tourism industry. If one of the goals for cultural tourism is that of intercultural understanding and learning to respect people and cultures who are different than ourselves, then the tourism discourses need to be as diverse.

References

- Aboriginal Art Association of Australia. (2015). Aboriginal Art Association of Australia. Retrieved May 5, 2016, from <http://aboriginalart.org.au/aaaa/>
- Adams, K. (1995). Making-Up the Toraja? The Appropriation of Tourism, Anthropology, and Museums for Politics in Upland Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Ethnology*, 34(2), 143–153.
- Adams, K. (2004). The Genesis of Touristic Imagery. *Tourist Studies*, 4(2), 115–135. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1468797604054378>
- Adams, K. (2006). *Art as politics : re-crafting identities, tourism, and power in Tana Toraja, Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Alder, C., Chappell, D., & Polk, K. (2011). Frauds and fakes in the Australian aboriginal art market. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 56(2), 189–207. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-011-9319-0>
- Altman, J. C. (1987). *The economic impact of tourism on the Mutitjulu community, Uluru (Ayers Rock-Mount Olga) National Park* (Working Paper No. 7). Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. Retrieved from <http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/15240028>
- Altman, J. C. (1988). *Aborigines, tourism, and development: the Northern Territory experience*. Darwin: Australian National University, North Australia Research Unit.
- Altman, J. C. (1989). Tourism dilemmas for aboriginal Australians. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16(4), 456–476.
- Altman, J. C., & Finlayson, J. (2003). Aborigines, Tourism and Sustainable Development. *The Journal of Tourism Studies*, 14(1), 78–91.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin & spread of nationalism*. London and New York, NY: Verso.
- Anker, K. (2005). The truth in painting: cultural artefacts as proof of native title. *Law-Text-Culture*, 9, 91–124.
- Appadurai, A. (Ed.). (1986). *The Social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Austin, J. L. (2006). How to do things with words. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The Discourse Reader* (2 edition, pp. 55–65). London; New York: Routledge.
- Australian Government Parks Australia. (2013, 2016). Fact Sheet: Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park. Australian Government. Retrieved from <http://www.parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/pub/fs-handback.pdf>

- Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), & Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages (FATSIL). (2005). National Indigenous Languages Survey (NILS) Report 2005. Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts (DCITA). Retrieved from <http://arts.gov.au/sites/default/files/pdfs/nils-report-2005.pdf>
- Babcock, B. (1978). *The reversible world : symbolic inversion in art and society : [papers]*. (B. Babcock, Ed.). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Banks, S. P. (1987). Achieving “Unmarkedness” in Organisational Discourse: A Praxis Perspective on Ethnolinguistic Identity. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 6(3-4), 171–189. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X8763002>
- Bardon, G. (1991). *Papunya Tula : art of the Western Desert*. Marleston, S. Aust.: Gecko Books.
- Bardon, G., & Bardon, J. (2004). *Papunya a place made after the story : the beginnings of the Western Desert painting movement*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Pub.
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang.
- Barthes, R. (1990). *The fashion system*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Barwick, L. (1997). Gender “Taboos” and Didjeridus. In K. Neuenfeldt (Ed.), *The didjeridu : from Arnhem Land to Internet* (pp. 89–98). Sydney: JLibbey/Perfect Beat Publications.
- Batty, P. (2005). Private Politics, Public Strategies: White Advisers and their Aboriginal Subjects. *Oceania*, 75(3), 209–221. <http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.2005.tb02881.x>
- Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Bauman, R. (2000). Language, identity, performance. *PRAGMATICS*, 10, 1–6.
- Bauman, Z. (1996). From Pilgrim to Tourist -or a Short History of Identity. In S. Hall & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 18–36). SAGE.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). Tourists and vagabonds. In *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (pp. 77–102). Cambridge: Polity.
- Bell, K. (2011). “A Delicious Way to Help Save Lives”: Race, Commodification, and Celebrity in Product (RED). *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 4(3), 163–180. <http://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2011.569972>
- Benjamin, W. (1936). The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, 1936. In N. Badmington & J. Thomas (Eds.), *The Routledge Critical and Cultural Theory Reader* (1 edition, pp. 34–56). London ; New York: Routledge.

- Bennett, J., & Gordon, W. (2005). Social Capital & the Indigenous Entrepreneur. *Australian Prospect, Summer*. Retrieved from http://www.australianprospect.com.au/system/files/articles/20051206_bennet_gordon.pdf
- Benterrak, K., Muecke, S., & Roe, P. (1984). *Reading the country: introduction to nomadology*. Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
- Bernard, H. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology : qualitative and quantitative approaches* (4th ed.). Lanham MD: AltaMira Press.
- Bhaba, H. K. (1996). The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism. In H. A. Baker, M. Diawara, & R. H. Lindeborg (Eds.), *Black British cultural studies: a reader* (pp. 87–106). University of Chicago Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blundell, V. (1994). “Take home Canada”: Representations of aboriginal peoples as tourist souvenirs. In S. H. Riggins (Ed.), *The socialness of things: essays on the socio-semiotics of objects* (pp. 251–284). Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Board of Studies NSW. (2007). ABED :: The Label of Authenticity and the Collaboration Mark. Retrieved June 28, 2016, from <http://ab-ed.bostes.nsw.edu.au/go/aboriginal-art/protecting-australian-indigenous-art/background-information/protection-the-issues/the-label-of-authenticity-and-the-collaboration-mark>
- Bouchenaki, M. (2006). Preface. In M. Robinson & D. Picard, *Tourism, culture and sustainable development* (pp. 4–5). Paris: UNESCO Publishing. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001475/147578e.pdf>
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006a). (i) Introduction; (ii) The Aristocracy of Culture. In M. G. Durham & D. M. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords* (2nd ed., pp. 322–336). Malden, MA; Oxford & Carlton, Victoria: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006b). Language and Symbolic Power. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.), *The Discourse Reader* (2 edition, pp. 480–490). London; New York: Routledge.
- Bourke, C., Bourke, E., & Edwards, B. (1998). *Aboriginal Australia: an introductory reader in aboriginal studies* (2nd ed.). StLucia, Qld, Australia: University of Queensland Press ; Portland, Or.
- Broome, R. (1994). *Aboriginal Australians: Black Responses to White Dominance 1788-1994*. Allen & Unwin.

- Broome, R. (2002). *Aboriginal Australians: black responses to white dominance, 1788-2001* (3rd ed.). Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Bruner, E. (2001). the Maasai and the Lion King: authenticity, nationalism, and globalization in African tourism. *American Ethnologist*, 28(4), 881–908.
- Bruner, E. (2005). *Culture on tour: ethnographies of travel*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bruner, E. (2011). Afterword: The Tour as Imagined, Lived, Experienced and Told. In J. Skinner & D. Theodossopoulos (Eds.), *Great Expectations: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism* (pp. 196–200). Berghahn Books.
- Bruner, E., & Kirshenblatt-gimblett, B. (1994). Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(4), 435–470.
<http://doi.org/10.1525/can.1994.9.4.02a00010>
- Bunten, A. C. (2008). Sharing culture or selling out? Developing the commodified persona in the heritage industry. *American Ethnologist*, 35(3), 380–395. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00041.x>
- Bunten, A. C. (2010a). Indigenous tourism: the paradox of gaze and resistance. *La Ricerca Folklorica*, (61), 51–59. <http://doi.org/10.2307/41548467>
- Bunten, A. C. (2010b). More Like Ourselves: Indigenous Capitalism through Tourism. *American Indian Quarterly*, 34(3), 285–311.
- Bunten, A. C. (2011). The Paradox of Gaze and Resistance in Native American Cultural Tourism: An Alaskan Case Study. In J. Skinner & D. Theodossopoulos (Eds.), *Great Expectations: Imagination and Anticipation in Tourism* (pp. 61–81). Berghahn Books.
- Bunten, A. C. (2013). You Never Know Who Is Going to Be on Tour: Reflections on the Indigenous Host Gaze from an Alaskan Case Study. In O. Moufakkir & Y. Reisinger (Eds.), *The host gaze in global tourism*. Oxfordshire, UK ; Boston, MA: CAB International.
- Bunten, A. C. (2014). Deriding Demand: Indigenous Imaginaries in Tourism. In N. B. Salazar & N. H. H. Graburn (Eds.), *Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches* (pp. 80–102). Berghahn Books.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, R. (2004a). Introduction. In R. Butler (Ed.), *What Is Appropriation?: An Anthology of Writings on Australian Art in the 1980s & 1990s* (Second edition, pp. 13–46). Brisbane, Australia: Ima.
- Butler, R. (2004b). *What Is Appropriation?: An Anthology of Writings on Australian Art in the 1980s & 1990s* (Second edition). Brisbane, Australia: Ima.

- Buultjens, J., & Gale, D. (2013). Facilitating the development of Australian Indigenous tourism enterprises: The Business Ready Program for Indigenous Tourism. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 5, 41–50. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2012.09.007>
- Cabinet, D. of the P. M. and. (n.d.). The Dreaming. Retrieved May 20, 2016, from <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/dreaming>
- Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: Sage Publications.
- Carbaugh, D. A. (1996). *Situating selves : the communication of social identities in American scenes*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Causey, A. (2003). *Hard bargaining in Sumatra: Western travelers and Toba Bataks in the marketplace of souvenirs. Southeast Asia: politics, meaning, memory*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Chaney, D. C. (1996). *Lifestyles*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Chatwin, B., & Stewart, R. (2012). *The Songlines* (Reprint edition). New York, N.Y: Penguin Classics.
- Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture : twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Cohen, E. (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology*, 13(2), 179–201.
- Commonwealth of Australia. (2015). Indigenous Australian flags. Retrieved May 5, 2016, from <http://www.naidoc.org.au/indigenous-australian-flags>
- Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, & University of New South Wales. (1996a). General Information Folio 5: Appropriate Terminology, Representations and Protocols of Acknowledgement for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. School of Teacher Education, University of New South Wales in association with the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. Retrieved from http://www.ipswich.qld.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/10043/appropriate_indigenou_s_terminology.pdf
- Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, & University of New South Wales. (1996b). *Using the right words: Appropriate terminology for indigenous Australian studies*. Sydney: School of Teacher Education, University of New South Wales in association with the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation.
- Cowlishaw, G. (2004). *Blackfellas, whitefellas, and the hidden injuries of race*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Craik, J. (1997). The Culture of Tourism. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring Cultures* (pp. 113–136). London: Routledge.

- Crang, P. (1997). Performing the Tourist Product. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring Cultures* (pp. 137–154). London: Routledge.
- Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design : qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Culler, J. (1981). Semiotics of Tourism. *The American Journal of Semiotics*, 1(1/2), 127–140.
- Dann, G. (1996). *The language of tourism: a sociolinguistic perspective*. Wallingford, Oxon, UK: CAB International.
- Davidson, H. (2015, October 28). Let traditional owners take over Ayers Rock Resort, says Mick Dodson. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/oct/29/let-traditional-owners-take-over-ayers-rock-resort-says-mick-dodson>
- De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative : a study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.
- Deleuze, G. (1983). Plato and the Simulacrum. *October*, 27(Winter, 1983), 45–56.
- Deloria, P. J. (1998). *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=53059>
- Desmond, J. C. (1999). *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diamond, H. A. (2011). *American Aloha: Cultural Tourism and the Negotiation of Tradition* (Reprint). Honolulu, HI: Univ of Hawaii Press.
- Dines, G. (2014). The White Man’s Burden: Gonzo Pornography and the Construction of Black Masculinity. In G. Dines & J. M. (McMahon) Humez (Eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Critical Reader* (4 edition, pp. 366–372). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Director of National Parks. (2010). Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park / Management Plan 2010-2020. Australian Government; Director of National Parks. Retrieved from <http://www.environment.gov.au/resource/management-plan-2010-2020-uluru-kata-tjuta-national-park>
- Director of National Parks. (2012). Cultural Centre texts: “Tjukurpa Piti.” Retrieved from http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/tourism/uluru/downloads/readings/reading15_tjukurpa_piti.pdf
- Dudgeon, P., Wright, M., Paradies, Y., Garvey, D., & Walker, I. (2010). The Social, Cultural and Historical Context of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. In N. Purdie, P. Dudgeon, & R. Walker (Eds.), *Working Together: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Mental Health and Wellbeing Principles and Practice* (pp. 25–42). Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare.

- du Gay, P. (1997). Introduction. In *Production of culture/cultures of production* (pp. 1–10). London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage in association with the Open University.
- Edensor, T. (2001). Performing tourism, staging tourism: (Re)producing tourist space and practice. *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 59–81.
- Elder, C. (2007). *Being Australian : narratives of national identity*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Errington, F. (2010). Boomerang. In M. Harper & R. White (Eds.), *Symbols of Australia* (pp. 75–81). Sydney, NSW: Univof New South Wales Press ; Canberra, ACT.
- Faier, L., & Rofel, L. (2014). Ethnographies of Encounter. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 43(1), 363–377. <http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102313-030210>
- Faiman, P. (1986). *Crocodile Dundee*.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London and New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Favero, P. (2007). “What a wonderful world!”: On the “touristic ways of seeing”, the knowledge and the politics of the “culture industries of otherness”. *Tourist Studies*, 7(1), 51–81.
- Fetterman, D. M. (1989). *Ethnography : step by step*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Finlayson, J. (1991). *Australian Aborigines and cultural tourism: case studies of Aboriginal involvement in the tourist industry*. Wollongong, NSW: Published for the Office of Multicultural Affairs, Deptof Prime Minister and Cabinet by Centre for Multicultural Studies, University of Wollongong.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge : selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. (C. Gordon, Ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *Archaeology of knowledge*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Franklin, A. (2003a). The tourist syndrome: An interview with Zygmunt Bauman. *Tourist Studies*, 3(2), 205–217.
- Franklin, A. (2003b). *Tourism: An Introduction* (1 edition). London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Franklin, A. (2010). Aboriginalia: Souvenir Wares and the “Aboriginalization” of Australian Identity. *Tourist Studies*, 10(3), 195–208. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1468797611407751>
- Frow, J., & Morris, M. (1993). Introduction. In J. Frow & M. Morris (Eds.), *Australian Cultural Studies: A Reader* (pp. vii–xxxii). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

- Fry, T., & Willis, A.-M. (2004). Aboriginal Art: Symptom or Success? In R. Butler (Ed.), *What Is Appropriation?: An Anthology of Writings on Australian Art in the 1980s & 1990s* (Second edition, pp. 13–46). Brisbane, Australia: Ima.
- Galliford, M. (2009). *Transforming the Tourist: Aboriginal Tourism as Investment in Cultural Transversality*. University of South Australia.
- Galliford, M. (2010). Touring “Country”, Sharing “Home”: Aboriginal Tourism, Australian Tourists and the Possibilities for Cultural Transversality. *Tourist Studies*, 10(3), 227–244. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1468797611407759>
- Galliford, M. (2012). Travels in “becoming-Aboriginal”: research reciprocating between anecdotes and theory. *Critical Arts*, 26(3), 401–423. <http://doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2012.705463>
- Geertz, C. (1986). Making Experiences, Authoring Selves. In V. W. Turner & E. M. Bruner (Eds.), *The Anthropology of Experience* (pp. 373–380). University of Illinois Press.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1 edition). Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor.
- Goldie, T. (1989). *Fear and temptation : the image of the indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand literatures*. Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- Graburn, N. (1976). Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World. In N. Graburn (Ed.), *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (pp. 1–32). University of California Press.
- Graburn, N. (1984). The evolution of tourist arts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(3), 393–419.
- Grimes, R. L. (1998). This May Be a Feud, but It Is Not a War: An Electronic, Interdisciplinary Dialogue on Teaching Native Religions. *American Indian Quarterly*, 20, 433–4, p.433–50.
- Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond “Culture”: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 6–23.
- Haigh, S. (2014, November 28). Very Exciting Times for Aboriginal Tourism Across WA through Key Changes Driven by WAITOC. WAITOC. Retrieved from http://www.waitoc.com/now/WAITOC_Media_Releases
- Hall, C. M. (1997). *Introduction to Tourism in Australia: Impacts, Planning and Development - 2nd Edition*. South Melbourne: Longman.
- Hall, S. (1996a). Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation. In *Black British cultural studies: a reader* (pp. 210–222). University of Chicago Press.

- Hall, S. (1996b). Introduction: Who Needs “Identity”? In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1–17). London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Hall, S. (2012). *This Means This, This Means That: A User’s Guide to Semiotics* (2 edition). London: Laurence King Publishing.
- Halualani, R. T., Drzewiecka, J. A., & Mendoza, S. L. (2003). “Culture as struggle”: Rethorizing from a critical intercultural communication perspective. Unpublished Paper.
- Halualani, R. T., & Nakayama, T. K. (2011). Critical Intercultural Communication Studies At a Crossroads. In T. K. Nakayama & R. T. Halualani (Eds.), *The Handbook of Critical Intercultural Communication* (pp. 1–16). John Wiley & Sons.
- Haynes, C. (2010). Realities, simulacra and the appropriation of Aboriginality in Kakadu’s tourism. In I. Keen (Ed.), *Indigenous Participation in Australian Economies: Historical and anthropological perspectives* (pp. 165–185).
- Healy, C. (2008). *Forgetting Aborigines*. UNSW Press.
- Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture, the meaning of style*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- Heyd, T. (2003). Rock Art Aesthetics and Cultural Appropriation. *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 61(1), 37–46. <http://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6245.00090>
- Hinkson, M. (2003). Encounters with Aboriginal Sites in Metropolitan Sydney: A Broadening Horizon for Cultural Tourism? *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11(4), 295–306. <http://doi.org/10.1080/09669580308667208>
- Hinkson, M., & Smith, B. (2005). Introduction: Conceptual Moves towards an Intercultural Analysis. *Oceania*, 75(3), 157–166. <http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.2005.tb02877.x>
- Hoelscher, S. (1998). Tourism, Ethnic Memory and the Other-Directed Place. *Ecumene*, 5(4), 369–398.
- Howitt, R. (2001). Frontiers, Borders, Edges: Liminal Challenges to the Hegemony of Exclusion. *Australian Geographical Studies*, 39(2), 233–245. <http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8470.00142>
- HREOC (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission). (1997). *Bringing them home: The “Stolen Children” report (1997)*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia. Retrieved from <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/publications/bringing-them-home-stolen>
- Hymes, D. (2013). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Routledge.
- Imada, A. (2004). Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire. *American Quarterly*, 56(1), 111–49.

- Imagineers, & Walt Disney Company. (1996). *Walt Disney imagineering: a behind the dreams look at making the magic real* (1st ed.). New York: Hyperion.
- Indigenous Business Australia. (n.d.). Indigenous tourism businesses - Inspire Magazine - IBA. Retrieved from <http://www.iba.gov.au/article/champions-of-indigenous-tourism/>
- Intercontinental Cry. (2012). Indigenous Struggles 2012: Dispatches from the Fourth World. Intercontinental Cry. Retrieved from <http://intercontinentalcry.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Indigenous-Struggles-2012.pdf>
- Jack, G., & Phipps, A. M. (2005). *Tourism and intercultural exchange: why tourism matters*. Channel View Publications.
- Jaworski, A., & Coupland, N. (1999). *The Discourse Reader*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2009). Taking an Elitist Stance: Ideology and the Discursive Production of Social Distinction. In A. Jaffee (Ed.), *Perspectives on Stance* (pp. 195–226). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2010a). Introducing Semiotic Landscapes. In A. Jaworski & C. Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space* (pp. 1–40). London: Continuum.
- Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2010b). *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space*. London: Continuum.
- Jewitt, C., & Oyama, R. (2001). Visual Meaning: a social semiotic approach. In *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 134–156). London: Sage.
- Johnson, V. (2008). *Lives of the Papunya Tula Artists*. IAD Press.
- Johnson, V. (2014). *Once Upon a Time in Papunya*. Sydney, AU: University of New South Wales Press. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10437778>
- Jordan, M. E. (2005). *Balanda : my year in Arnhem Land*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Jules-Rosette, B. (1984). *The messages of tourist art : an African semiotic system in comparative perspective*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Kahn, M. (2003). Tahiti: The Ripples of a Myth on the Shores of the Imagination. *History and Anthropology*, 14(4), 307–326.
- Kahn, M. (2011). *Tahiti beyond the postcard: power, place, and everyday life*. University of Washington Press.

- Kennedy, R. (2015, September 18). An Aboriginal Artist's Dizzying New York Moment. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/19/arts/design/an-aboriginal-artists-dizzying-new-york-moment.html>
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture : tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Korff, J. (2016, May 5). Native title issues & problems. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/land/native-title-issues-problems#axzz4BQtXkw2X>
- Korff, J. (n.d.). What is the "Dreamtime" or the "Dreaming"? Retrieved February 8, 2016, from <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/spirituality/what-is-the-dreamtime-or-the-dreaming>
- Kowal, E. (2015). Welcome to Country: Acknowledgement, Belonging and White Anti-racism. *Cultural Studies Review*, 21(2), 173–204. <http://doi.org/10.5130/csr.v21i2.4280>
- Kress, G. R., & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading images : the grammar of visual design*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (1996). *Reading Images, The Grammar of Visual Design*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lane, R., & Waitt, G. (2001). Authenticity in tourism and Native Title: Place, time and spatial politics in the East Kimberley. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 2(4), 381–405. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14649360120092607>
- Langton, M. (1993). "*Well, I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television*": an essay for the Australian Film Commission on the politics and aesthetics of filmmaking by and about Aboriginal people and things. North Sydney, NSW: Australian Film Commission.
- Laughland, O. (2013, July 8). People still climbing Uluru despite closure condition being met. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/09/people-still-climbing-uluru-closure>
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Lippard, L. R. (1997). *The lure of the local : senses of place in a multicentered society*. New York: New Press.
- Little, W. E. (2004). *Mayas in the marketplace : tourism, globalization, and cultural identity*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lowe, P., & Pike, J. (2009). *You Call it Desert: We Used to Live There*. Magabala Books.

- Lutz, C., & Collins, J. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*.
- Macaskill, P., & Maynard, M. (2010). Akubra. In M. Harper & R. White (Eds.), *Symbols of Australia* (pp. 192–199). Sydney, NSW: Univof New South Wales Press ; Canberra, ACT.
- MacCannell, D. (1976). *The Tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. New York: Schocken.
- Maclean, K. (2009). Re-conceptualising desert landscapes: unpacking historical narratives and contemporary realities for sustainable livelihood development in central Australia. *GeoJournal*, 74(5), 451–463.
- Mandi, & Bierly. (2010, September 15). Australian tourism officials call seven-figure “Oprah” visit priceless. Agreed. Retrieved November 28, 2015, from <http://www.ew.com/article/2010/09/15/oprah-australia-tourism-backlash>
- Marcus, J. (1997). The journey out to the Centre: the cultural appropriation of Ayers Rock. In G. Cowlshaw & B. Morris (Eds.), *Race Matters: Indigenous Australians and “our” Society* (pp. 29–52). Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Martin, J. N., & Nakayama, T. K. (2011). Intercultural Communication and Dialectics Revisited. In T. K. Nakayama & R. T. Halualani (Eds.), *The Handbook of Critical Intercultural Communication* (pp. 59–83). John Wiley & Sons.
- McCabe, S. (2005). “Who is a tourist?”: A critical review. *Tourist Studies*, 5(1), 85–106.
- Megaw, J. V. S. (2002). Transformations: Appreciation, appropriation and imagery in Indigenous Australian art. In A. Herle, N. Stanley, K. Stevenson, & R. L. Welsch (Eds.), *Pacific art: persistence, change, and meaning* (pp. 370–385). Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Merlan, F. (1998). *Caging the Rainbow: Places Politics, and Aborigines in a North Australian Town*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Merlan, F. (2005). Explorations towards Intercultural Accounts of Socio-Cultural Reproduction and Change. *Oceania*, 75(3), 167–182. <http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.2005.tb02878.x>
- Mishler, E. G. (1999). *Storylines : craftartists’ narratives of identity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Moran, A. (2005). *Australia: Nation, Belonging, and Globalization*. New York, NY and London: Routledge.
- Moran, C. (Mibunj). (2011, January 12). Welcome part of our tradition. *Koori Mail*. Retrieved from <http://koorimail.com/news/aiatsis-archive/>

- Moreton-Robinson, A. (1998). When the Object Speaks, A Postcolonial Encounter: anthropological representations and Aboriginal women's self-presentations. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 19(3), 275–289.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2000). *Talkin' up to the white woman: aboriginal women and feminism*. StLucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2003). I Still Call Australia Home: Indigenous Belonging and Place in a White Postcolonizing Society. In S. Ahmed, C. Castaneda, A.-M. Fortier, & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Uprootings / Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (pp. 23–40). Oxford: Berg.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2004). *Whitening race: essays in social and cultural criticism*. Canberra, ACT: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2012). Bodies that Matter: Performing White Possession on the Beach. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 35(4), 57–72.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2015). *The white possessive: property, power, and indigenous sovereignty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Morgan, N., & Pritchard, A. (1998). *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities* (1st ed.). Wiley.
- Morgan, S. (1988). *My Place*. Retrieved from <http://www.penguin.com.au/products/9780949206312/my-place>
- Morgan, S. (1995). *Wanamurranganya: The Story of Jack McPhee* (Reprinted edition edition). Fremantle, W.A.: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
- Morphy, H. (1998). *Aboriginal Art A&I*. Phaidon Press.
- Morrison, A. M. (2013). *Marketing and Managing Tourism Destinations*. Routledge.
- Moufakkir, O., & Reisinger, Y. (2013). Introduction: Gazemaking: Le Regard - Do You Hear Me? In O. Moufakkir & Y. Reisinger (Eds.), *The host gaze in global tourism*. Oxfordshire, UK ; Boston, MA: CAB International.
- Mroczek, K. R. (2009). *(De)constructing the Tourist "Bubble": Cultural Ambassadors and the Production of Hawai'i in Tourism Discourse*. University of Washington, Seattle.
- Mudrooroo. (1997). "Tell them you're Indian". In G. Cowlshaw & B. Morris (Eds.), *Race Matters: Indigenous Australians and "our" Society* (pp. 259–268). Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Myers, F. (2002). *Painting culture : the making of an aboriginal high art*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

- Myers, F. (2004). Unsettled Business: Acrylic Painting, Tradition, and Indigenous Being. *Visual Anthropology*, 17(3-4), 247–271.
- Nakamura, L. (1995). Race In/For Cyberspace: Identity Tourism and Racial Passing on the Internet. *Works and Days: Essays in the Socio-Historical Dimensions of Literature and the Arts*, 13(1-2 [25-26]), 181–93.
- Neuenfeldt, K. (Ed.). (1997a). *The didjeridu : from Arnhem Land to Internet*. Sydney: JLibbey/Perfect Beat Publications.
- Neuenfeldt, K. (1997b). The Didjeridu in the Desert: The Social Relations of an Ethnographic Object Entangled in Culture and Commerce. In K. Neuenfeldt (Ed.), *The didjeridu : from Arnhem Land to Internet* (pp. 107–122). Sydney: JLibbey/Perfect Beat Publications.
- Nielsen, N., & Wilson, E. (2012). From Invisible to Indigenous-Driven: A Critical Typology of Research in Indigenous Tourism. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 19(1), 67–75. <http://doi.org/10.1017/jht.2012.6>
- Oscar, J. (2015, June 3). Encountering truth: the real life stories of objects from empire’s frontier and beyond. Retrieved May 20, 2016, from <http://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/encountering-truth-real-life-stories-objects-empires-frontier-and-beyond>
- Palmer, L. (2004). Bushwalking in Kakadu: a study of cultural borderlands. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5(1), 109–127. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1464936042000181344>
- Parliament of Australia. (2007). *Indigenous art: securing the future* (Text) (p. 255). Australia. Retrieved from <http://apo.org.au/resource/indigenous-art-securing-future-0>
- Parsons, M. (2002). “Ah that I could convey a proper idea of this interesting wild play of the natives”: corroborees and the rise of Indigenous Australian cultural tourism. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2002(2), 14.
- Pascoe, T. (1981). *Improving Focus and Efficiency in the Marketing of Aboriginal Artefacts*. Report to the Australia Council and Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Pty. Ltd. Sydney: Arts Research, Training and Support.
- Peacock, J. L. (1984). Foreward. In B. Jules-Rosette, *The messages of tourist art : an African semiotic system in comparative perspective* (pp. vii–ix). New York: Plenum Press.
- PMC, A. (n.d.). Native Title Act 1993. Retrieved May 20, 2016, from <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2016C00296>
- Pomering, A., & White, L. (2011). The portrayal of Indigenous identity in Australian tourism brand advertising: Engendering an image of extraordinary reality or staged authenticity? *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 7(3), 165. <http://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2011.19>

- Reconciliation Australia. (n/d). Welcome to and Acknowledgement of Country FAQ sheet. Reconciliation Australia. Retrieved from <https://www.reconciliation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Welcome-to-and-Acknowledgement-of-Country.pdf>
- Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash, & R. Robertson (Eds.), *Global modernities* (pp. 25–44). London ;;Thousand Oaks Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Robinson, M., & Picard, D. (2006). *Tourism, culture and sustainable development*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001475/147578e.pdf>
- Robles, J. S. (2013). Culture in Conversation. In Anastacia Kurylo editor (Ed.), *Inter/cultural communication : representation and construction of culture* (pp. 89–114). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Rojek, C., & Urry, J. (1997). Transformations of Travel and Theory. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring Cultures* (pp. 1–19). London: Routledge.
- Rosaldo, R. (1989). Imperialist Nostalgia. *Representations*, (26), 107–122.
- Rose, D. B. (1996). *Nourishing terrains: Australian aboriginal views of landscape and wilderness*. Canberra, ACT: Australian Heritage Commission.
- Rose, D. B. (1999). Indigenous ecologies and an ethic of connection. In N. Low (Ed.), *Global ethics and environment* (pp. 175–187). London: Routledge.
- Rosi, P. C. (1991). Papua New Guinea's New Parliament House: A Contested National Symbol. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 3(2), 289–323.
- Rothwell, N. (2006, March 4). SCAMS IN THE DESERT. *Australian, The/Weekend Australian/Australian Magazine, The (Australia)*, p. 019.
- Ryan, C., & Huyton, J. (2002). Tourists and Aboriginal people. *Annals of Tourism Research.*, 29(3), 631.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Salazar, N. B. (2010a). Imagineering Tailor-Made Past for Nation-Building and Tourism: A Comparative Perspective. In J. Schlehe, M. Uike-Bormann, C. Oesterle, & W. Hochbruck (Eds.), *Staging the past: themed environments in transcultural perspectives* (pp. 93–109). Bielefeld: transcript.
- Salazar, N. B. (2010b). Studying local-to-global tourism dynamics through glocal ethnography. In C. M. Hall (Ed.), *Fieldwork in tourism: methods, issues and reflections* (pp. 177–187). London & New York, NY: Taylor & Francis US.

- Salazar, N. B. (2012). Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), 863.
- Salazar, N. B., & Graburn, N. H. H. (2014). Introduction: Toward and Anthropology of Tourism Imaginaries. In N. B. Salazar & N. H. H. Graburn (Eds.), *Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches* (pp. 1–28). Berghahn Books.
- Sands, N. (2007, June 14). Aboriginal art made in “sweatshops.” *Dailytelegraph.com.au*. Australia. Retrieved from <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/aboriginal-art-made-in-sweatshops/story-e6freuzi-111113749408#social-comments>
- Scherrer, P., & Doohan, K. (2011). Capturing Intangible Cultural Impacts of Tourism on Aboriginal Land in Australia’s Kimberley Region. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36(3), 271–280.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2015). Discourse and Intercultural Communication. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 538–547). John Wiley & Sons.
- Smith, V. L. (1989). *Hosts and guests: the anthropology of tourism*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sontag, S. (1999). The image-world. In J. Evans & S. Hall (Eds.), *Visual culture: the reader* (pp. 80–94). London ; Thousand Oaks Calif. SAGE Publications.
- Sorochan, C. (2015). In Search of the Perfect Name: Self-branding, Blank Slates and Negation in a Neoliberal Era. *Seachange, Naming*, 1–22.
- Stewart, S. (1984). *On longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Stokes, G. (Ed.). (1997). *The politics of identity in Australia*. Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Strohfeldt, M. (2010, March 24). Tokenism comments draw angry response. *Koori Mail*. Retrieved from <http://koorimail.com/news/aiatsis-archive/>
- Stronza, A. (2001). Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 261–283.
- Sullivan, P. (2005). Searching for the Intercultural, Searching for the Culture. *Oceania*, 75(3), 183–194. <http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.2005.tb02879.x>
- Terry, J. C. (2011, January 18). Oprah’s Ultimate Australian Adventure Part 1. *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Chicago, IL.
- Thomas, N. (1989). Material Culture and Colonial Power: Ethnological Collecting and the Establishment of Colonial Rule in Fiji. *Man*, 24(1), 41–56.

- Thornton, S., Redwood, J., Punchard, E., Silvestrin, L., Film Australia, Prospero Productions, ... Films for the Humanities & Sciences. (2002). *Selling Australia. The brand.* Films for the Humanities & Sciences.
- Thurlow, C., & Jaworski, A. (2010a). The Commodification of Local Linguacultures: Guidebook Glossaries. In *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility* (pp. 191–223). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thurlow, C., & Jaworski, A. (2010b). *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thurlow, C., Jaworski, A., & Ylänne-McEwen, V. (2005). “Half-Hearted Tokens of Transparent Love”? “Ethnic” Postcards and the Visual Mediation of Host-Tourist Communication. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 5(2), 93–104.
- Tomić, O. M. (1989). Introduction. In O. M. Tomić (Ed.), *Markedness in synchrony and diachrony* (pp. 1–10). Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tonnaer, A. (2008). *Tourism Dreaming: A Study of the Encounter Culture in Indigenous Cultural Tourism in Australia.* [Århus] : University of Aarhus, Department of Anthropology and Ethnography, Nijmegen, Netherlands. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2066/71875>
- Tonnaer, A. (2010). A ritual of meeting: “sharing culture” as a shared culture in Australian indigenous tourism. *Ricefolk La Ricerca Folklorica*, (61), 21–31.
- Tourism Australia. (2008, June). Australian Experiences Industry Toolkit, Volume 2: Boosting your bottomline. Tourism Australia. Retrieved from http://www.tourism.australia.com/documents/corporate/Boosting_your_bottomline_volume2.pdf
- Tourism Australia. (2013). *Working with Tourism Australia: Global Marketing Prospectus 2013/2014* (p. 26). Sydney, AU. Retrieved from http://www.tourism.australia.com/documents/Markets/Publication_WorkingWithTourismAustralia_Jun13.pdf
- Tourism Australia. (2014). *Tourism Australia Reconciliation Action Plan 2014-2016* (pp. 1–29). Retrieved from http://www.tourism.australia.com/documents/corporate/reconciliation_report_Jan14b.pdf
- Tourism Australia. (2016, April 26). Crocodile Dundee anniversary to boost Kakadu tourism. Retrieved May 12, 2016, from [http://www.tourism.australia.com/news/Media-Releases-17925.aspx?cm_mid=5633116&cm_crmid=\[cm_crmid\]&cm_medium=email](http://www.tourism.australia.com/news/Media-Releases-17925.aspx?cm_mid=5633116&cm_crmid=[cm_crmid]&cm_medium=email)
- Tourism Australia, & Australian Tourism Export Council (ATEC). (2016). *The Tourism Export Toolkit* (p. 49).

- Tourism Australia Corporate. (2013, 2015). Indigenous Tourism Champions Program. Retrieved May 22, 2016, from <http://www.tourism.australia.com/programs/indigenous-tourism-champion-program.aspx>
- Tourism Australia Corporate Strategy. (2014). *Tourism Australia Annual Report 2013-14*. Sydney, NSW: Tourism Australia.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze 3.0* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles ; London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283.
- van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from <http://www.palgrave.com/page/detail/discourse-and-power-teun-a-van-dijk%3F%3FK%3D9780230574083>
- van Leeuwen, T. (2005). *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- WAITOC. (2011). *Western Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC) Strategic Plan 2011-2015* (p. 14). Western Australia.
- WAITOC. (2012). *Western Australian Aboriginal Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC) Annual Report 2012-13* (Annual Report). Western Australia. Retrieved from <http://www.waitoc.com/now/waitoc-corporate-documents>
- WAITOC. (2015). *Western Australian Aboriginal Tourism Operators Council (WAITOC) Annual Report 2014-15* (Annual Report). Western Australia. Retrieved from <http://www.waitoc.com/now/waitoc-corporate-documents>
- WAITOC, & K&L Gates. (2014). Constitution of WAITOC Association Inc. / Registration No. A1010338B. K&L Gates.
- Waite, G. (1999). Naturalizing the “primitive”: A critique of marketing Australia’s indigenous peoples as “hunter-gatherers.” *Tourism Geographies*, 1(2), 142–163. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14616689908721306>
- Welch, C. (2002). Appropriating the Didjeridu and the Sweat Lodge: New Age Baddies and Indigenous Victims? *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 17(1), 21–38. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13537900120098147>
- White, R. (1991). *Inventing Australia*. Allen & Unwin Pty LTD.
- White, R. (2005). *On Holidays: A History of Getting Away in Australia*. Pluto Press Australia.

- Whitford, M., & Ruhanen, L. (2014). Indigenous Tourism Businesses: An Exploratory Study of Business Owners' Perceptions of Drivers and Inhibitors. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 39(2), 149–168. <http://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2014.11081764>
- Williams, G. (2013, November 12). Treaty with Australia's indigenous people long overdue. Retrieved July 8, 2016, from <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/treaty-with-australias-indigenous-people-long-overdue-20131112-2xeel.html>
- Williams, N. (1976). Australian Aboriginal Art at Yirrkala: Introduction and Development of Marketing. In N. H. H. Graburn (Ed.), *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (pp. 266–284). University of California Press.
- Williams, R. (1958). *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Wolfe, P. (1991). On Being Woken Up: The Dreamtime in Anthropology and in Australian Settler Culture. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33(2), 197–224.
- World Travel & Tourism Council. (2012). *The Review 2011* (p. 18). Retrieved from http://www.wttc.org/site_media/uploads/downloads/WTTC_Review_2011.pdf
- Yunupingu, M. (1997). Yidaki: A Foreword. In K. Neuenfeldt (Ed.), *The didjeridu : from Arnhem Land to Internet* (pp. vii–viii). Sydney: JLibbey/Perfect Beat Publications.
- Zeppel, H. (1999). Touring Aboriginal cultures: encounters with Aboriginal people in Australian travelogues. *Tourism Culture & Communication*, 2(2), 123–139.